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History of Connecticut in
monographic form

HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT



Courtesy of George Dudley Seymour

CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE, YALE 1773

Born at Coventry, Conn., June 6, 1755. "Resign'd his life a sacrifice to his country's liberty at New York Sept. 22d, 1776." His last words were, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Designed for Yale University by Bela Lyon Pratt, a native of Connecticut, erected 1913, in front of Connecticut Hall, in which Hale roomed as an undergraduate 1769-1773. This photograph was taken from the design when in the clay.

History of Connecticut

In Monographic Form

NORRIS GALPIN OSBORN

EDITOR

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CONNECTICUT IN THE WARS

BY CHARLES W. BURPEE

Born in Rockville, Connecticut November 13th, 1859; son of Col. Thomas F. and Adeline M. (Harwood) B. Brother of Lucien Francis B. (q. v.); A. B. Yale, 1883; married Bertha Stiles of Bridgeport, Connecticut, Nov. 5th, 1885. City editor Waterbury (Conn.) American 1883-1891; associate editor Bridgeport (Conn.) Standard 1891-1895; on staff Hartford Courant 1895-1904; managing editor 1900-1904; editor for Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company 1904-1912; supervisor conservation work. At different times held five commissions in three different regiments, Connecticut N. G., retiring in 1897 with rank of captain; volunteer A. D. C., staff of First Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, Spanish-American War; colonel First Regiment Connecticut S. G., 1917-1921. Contributor to various periodicals, sometimes lecturer. Home, 19 Forest Street. Office 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Conn.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

IT was well that the colonists finally had seen British officers of the type of Amherst and Wolfe since otherwise in 1775, they might have gone to war for their rights with only contempt for their foe. Their real love for England and the English had not been quenched; in almost every hamlet there were men who were looked up to as having helped win the honor which was ample to go around, and in the years following the peace of 1763 a wise government could have made permanent the ties which by nature bound the colonies to the mother country. If expenses and sorrows had been heavy, the opportunity to obliterate them, furnished by soil, ocean and spirit, was apparent. Connecticut's financial burden for the last war was £400,000 after deducting what Parliament had allowed, but, with taxes kept up, all obligations were met and the terrible sufferings of the past could have been forgotten. It follows that, what with prospects so bright at the very first taste of peace, the motives which impelled to new war, and that too with the mother they had revered, must have been tremendous. That early in 1775 Connecticut could have been issuing bills again to the amount of £50,000 and a like amount twice again in the months following, imposing a tax of 21 pence and setting her weary veterans to drilling their young sons for strife, even as other colonies were doing, would be one of the incredible things of history were it not for knowledge of the folly of the then home government.

Our modern military establishment smiles at the picture of the untrained mob of farmers who took up arms against the stately regulars in their red coats and bear-

skins, of rustics who fought today and returned home to plow tomorrow, but even the casual reader of history must see the training there had been and the tradition there was for those now in their teens. Still more emphatically than in the days of Thomas Hooker every man and boy had his weapons and ammunition at hand—not his uniform as yet, for in the list of essentials that did not occupy first place, and for what did not, no money could be retained in purse public or private. About all that could be boasted was the ability to walk tirelessly through furlongs of trees and rocks, to sleep wherever they could drop down, to measure an opponent accurately and to shoot straight. In 1774 Connecticut had 23,000 able-bodied men above the age of 16, answering roll call at least twice a year in twenty-two regiments and bringing their guns and powder with them. Another year and two more regiments were added by the County of prosperous Westmoreland beyond the Delaware.

Putnam is but the type of the men who heard the shot at Lexington, April 19, 1775—men who, old battles a memory, had been sending all that could be spared and more to help those made destitute by England's order closing the port of Boston. Putnam heard it by means of a messenger from the home of the revered Governor at Lebanon, Jonathan Trumbull. Putnam, at 57, was the type of the men who had had their fill of war and neglect of the husbandry upon which they and their families depended. He left his plow in the field at Pomfret and was at the scene of action by that night. And so all over New England, as in Connecticut, men were not stopping for company and battalion formations. Among the 4,000 unrostered names of them many were familiar in the days of Crown Point and Louisbourg, and were to be familiar

again in the Civil War nearly a century later and again in the World War.

Benedict Arnold was on the march from New Haven eight days after the skirmish, at the head of the Second Company, Governor's Foot Guard. This independent organization had been chartered only the month previous, primarily for the purpose of escorting the Governor at the inaugurations, alternately in Hartford and New Haven. In recent years, when military parade no longer appealed to the rank and file who had experienced the stern realities, the Governor's escort had degenerated into such rag-tag and bob-tail that the Assembly had complained, with the result that in 1774 upstanding Hartford young men had organized the Governor's Foot Guard (now the First Company) under special charter, to continue ever since in this honorable duty, dressed in the imposing uniform of the British grenadiers, and upon one occasion—at the time of Burgoyne's campaign—to be ordered from the State for service. When Arnold had assembled his company on the New Haven green, he was refused a supply of powder because the authorities considered his requisition too informal but overcame all compunctions when he appeared with his men behind him.

Officially Connecticut was decorous and conservative as ever. Under the outburst of enthusiasm there was in some quarters a sentiment that England should be made to see the error of her ways without bloodshed, while there also was a sentiment, more pronounced in the part of the State nearer New York, that it was wrong to affront the king. Governor Trumbull was for peace if it could be had with honor. With this in mind he wrote a strong letter to General (and Governor) Gage in Boston but unfortunately it was misinterpreted by Boston

people until the propagandists they sent reported that the Governor and all Connecticut were absolutely true. Trumbull on the day after Lexington had directed the General Assembly to convene on the following day, and that body, while forwarding his letter to Gage was also mobilizing six—and soon two more—regiments and was thriftily collecting a supply of powder and guns. The regiments in their order, with their commanders, were: First, David Wooster of New Haven; Second, Joseph Spencer of East Haddam; Third, Israel Putnam of Pomfret; Fourth, Benjamin Hinman of Southbury (Woodbury); Fifth, David Waterbury of Stamford; Sixth, Samuel Holden Parsons of New London; Seventh, Charles Webb of Stamford; Eighth, Jedediah Huntington of Norwich. Wooster, Major General; Spencer and Putnam, Brigadier Generals. Most of these were veteran officers of the previous wars.

TICONDEROGA AND BUNKER HILL

There is a touch of almost divine retribution in the story of Ticonderoga soon to follow. The strongholds where so much Connecticut blood had been poured out uselessly were to fall before a mere handful of men sent by Connecticut wiseheads acting as private citizens. Samuel Wyllys, Samuel H. Parsons, Silas Deane, Thomas Mumford, Adam Babcock, Joshua Porter, Jesse Root, Ezekiel Williams, Charles Webb, Samuel Bishop, Jr., William Williams, Christopher Leffingwell are names that had been familiar all through the trying days of earlier conflict, either by guns or words. No war had been declared. These men took from the complacent public treasury the cash for the plan they worked out in Hartford, making good its place with their own depend-

able notes. They had their eye on Ethan Allen of Vermont, a ranger in the border controversies with New York. He was born in the present Southbury in New Haven County and had lived in Salisbury. Seth Warner and Remember Baker, who were natives of the same locality with Allen, were of his rangers, known as the "Green Mountain Boys." Captain Noah Phelps of Simsbury, an engineer, was prospecting in the North and getting a cup of coffee in the fort, and incidentally noting the conditions. Bernard Romans also had been attracted that way. Colonel James Easton of Massachusetts, formerly of Hartford, was one of hundreds of Connecticut colonists who had removed northward but had kept in touch with their old neighbors.

It was easy to select a "committee" of sixteen men, including Lieutenant Crampton, nearly all from the vicinity of Allen's early home, to go to Vermont to act with him, and also to arrange that Colonel Easton with forty friends should be near Pittsfield when the Connecticut men happened by. The sturdy Allen had no written memoranda from Silas Deane's "committee," so far as history knows, but he may have been on the lookout with enough of his associates to swell the total of actives to over a hundred, the command of whom fell to him. Benedict Arnold, with but one companion, arrived at the last moment bearing a commission from the Massachusetts Council of Safety to raise a force to capture the fort, and his disappointment at not being chosen chief over the "committee" so ready to hand was the first of several disappointments which may ultimately have decided him in his traitorous course.

All coincidences complete, Allen with eighty-three of his followers, not waiting for the remainder to get across

the lake, on Sunday, May 10, before dawn, forced aside the sentry at the gate of the renowned fortress, smote another who would have stayed him, haled into his presence the commandant in his night apparel and demanded surrender "in the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress"—which body was still in futuro. This was sufficient, coupled with the fact that guns were rusty and the powder hardly dried out after a recent wetting, but the brass cannon and all the munitions were most welcome to the sorely undermatched Colonials around Boston. Warner and Arnold and the other men took over the neighboring forts and, by request of the Massachusetts Council of Safety, Colonel Benjamin Hinman of Southbury with a regiment which included 150 men from Woodbury (of which Southbury was then a part) discouraged reprisals.

Epaphras Bull of Hartford who subsequently was appointed by Congress commissioner of prisoners in the State, brought the prisoners to Hartford. Among them was Governor Skeen of Ticonderoga, who with his son, Major Skeen, "boarded in the family of Widow Hooker, in West Hartford about one year at their own expense." It is written that they often were "insulted" by the inhabitants as enemies of the Colony and narrowly escaped tar and feathers because of the "insults" they offered the neighbors. They next appear in history at the battle of Bennington, August 16, 1777, where Skeen commanded a part of the British and where one of his most troublesome opponents was Colonel Seth Warner.

Putnam came home long enough after going to Lexington to raise his regiment and to be commissioned brigadier-general—third on the list with David Wooster and Joseph Spencer. His first direct act against the enemy

was his successful raid with a few men on Noddle's Island where he secured some much needed supplies which Gage had counted upon.

Aside from its import in the world's progress, the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, was one of the most notable engagements in military history. Burgoyne, observing it from Boston and seeing 40 per cent of the picked veterans of the British army killed and wounded, including seventy-seven of their officers, wrote of it: "The whole was a complication of horror and importance beyond anything it has ever come to my lot to be witness to. It was a sight for a young soldier that the longest service may not furnish again." But because of controversy, lack of present data or efforts to be too particular about certain features to the neglect of others, the true view of it has become obscured and history perverted.

Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne with choicest reinforcements had landed recently in Boston and, by reason of the king's determination to exorcise the colonies, more were expected. The besieging provincials were undisciplined, unorganized, without powder or effective artillery. The Colony's Royal Governor, Gage, was the British commander. Outside of Boston, the Colony's interests were entrusted to the Provincial Congress, ultra conservative, while the colonies were still in correspondence with the home government; the federal Congress was merely a committee of conference, and the Massachusetts Congress was assuring the king of its loyalty, though willing to die for its cause. Under this Provincial Congress was a committee of safety as in previous wars. It was bold and hesitating by turns. Literally and figuratively there was no head. Only a high degree of intelligence prevented the 8,000 motley troops of the various colonies from de-

generating into a mob. And that is what the European nations were expecting.

In May the cautious Committee of Safety, fearing to precipitate battle, shelved a plan to fortify Bunker Hill. By June Putnam was favoring it, as also Prescott and Palmer of Massachusetts, but Dr. Joseph Warren of the committee, just made a brigadier, doubted and General Artemas Ward, head of the Massachusetts contingent, was averse, till word came June 16, that in conference on June 12 the British generals had agreed upon a plan to raise the siege by attacking Dorchester Heights to the south and then advancing on Cambridge by way of Charlestown. Such plan must be forestalled. Putnam said: "We will risk 2,000 men and if driven to retreat every stone wall shall be lined with their dead." On his three lines of front, Ward had 8,000 men, Gage had 4,500, seasoned veterans with ample munitions. From his Cambridge base, Ward could spare not over 2,000 before the enemy's exact designs were revealed. Secretly the committee on June 16, voted for the fortifications on Bunker Hill. No orders were issued; other investing commanders were notified but not directed to co-operate, since the British might resort to a diversion.

At nine that evening assembled on the Cambridge common 700 Massachusetts men under Colonel Prescott. After prayer by President Langdon of Harvard they set out for Bunker Hill. Putnam had previously inspected the ground and had concluded that there should be works on both Bunker and Breed's Hills, probably the main works on the former. At Charlestown Neck, they found Putnam waiting with 120 Connecticut men under Captain Thomas Knowlton of the hamlet of Ashford, Connecticut, who as a boy had been in the French and Indian

war and had been present at the capture of Havana. These men had been selected from the companies of John Chester of Wethersfield, James Clark of Lebanon, Ebenezer Moseley of Windham, and Experience Storrs of Mansfield, all from Putnam's old regiment, stationed at Inman's farm and then commanded by Storrs as lieutenant-colonel, who held the rest of the regiment in reserve. The aged Richard Gridley, chief engineer of the Massachusetts forces and distinguished for his service at Crown Point, Louisbourg and Quebec, accompanied the little column. It was decided to begin with the works on Breed's Hill and proceed with those on Bunker Hill afterward, but limit of time was to interfere.

Charlestown peninsula lies at the mouth of the Mystic River and resembles a club foot in shape, connected with the mainland on the northwest merely by a narrow strip and a nearby causeway, denying its holders all facilities for transportation back and forth except by water, and the British controlled that. The whole was commanded by Copp's Hill in Boston, 1,200 yards across the narrow estuary to the southeastward. Charlestown village was at the heel of the foot; Moulton's knoll near the toe, which points northeast; Breed's Hill at the ankle and Bunker Hill just northwesterly of it, near the isthmus. The last named is 110 feet high. Thence the pasture land sloped eastward, rising a bit at Breed's Hill, which is 62 feet high, and then going off more sharply to the north and west and to Charlestown toward the southwest. A marsh lay between Moulton's knoll and Breed's, and on the south side, between the bases of Breed's and Bunker Hills. Breed's preëminently was the better hill to fortify because it commanded all approaches while Bunker Hill could easily have been turned by troops approaching under its sharp right

shoulder. Without ordnance or ships there could be no object in fortifying either hill except to divert the enemy from his plan for raising the siege. Indeed all the fortifications around Boston that summer were mere bluff in the absence of powder. At Bunker Hill the total supply was only 63 half-barrels, of which 37 had been sent up from Connecticut "on request of Generals Spencer and Putnam." Strategy inherited from the French wars was outside the books on military science.

The morning sun of so far the hottest day of the year revealed Prescott's men toiling at the eight-rod square redoubt and the trench to the northeast thereof on Breed's Hill. The ship *Lively* nearby opened up with guns that aroused Boston and brought to Copp's Hill artillery under Burgoyne which, with vessels of the fleet, poured shot upon the toilers and across the approaches all day. Against the sally if it came, there must be protection for the redoubt on the northerly side of it, since otherwise the enemy, approaching along the Mystic, could gain the rear. While Putnam went to choose position on Bunker Hill, Knowlton was detailed to cover the left of the redoubt trench. There the shoulder of a ravine, which fell toward the marsh, furnished him the opportunity to construct a small redan, three angular parallel lines of turf and stone and hay, to the left and rear of the trench. He had two small guns, rendered useless in the redoubt through the collapse of the gun platform.

Despite the protests of Putnam and the messengers from Prescott as the day advanced and the toilers, without food or water since the night before, endured the heat and cannonade, Ward persisted in holding back his eager men, insisting that Gage would attack Cambridge. Colonel Stark, however, with his New Hampshire force

of a few hundred men, and picking up Colonel Reed of New Hampshire at the "neck," was permitted to go when indications were that the main British force was bound for the peninsula. Putnam on his horse, after several demonstrations of the possibility of crossing the isthmus without harm from the cannonade, took these men to Bunker Hill to go on with the entrenching, but when it was seen that the enemy was forming on the Mystic beach, they were hurried on to a stone wall to the left and rear of Knowlton's position running north to the Mystic. There they hastily added to the fence rails above the wall and hung hay on them as a screen. Also stones were thrown down on the beach below the shoulder, thus extending the wall to the water's edge. On their way Putnam had given over to them two small field guns which had been abandoned, and which later he himself was to load with canister from his saddle bags with results that were to amaze the British.

Already the British were landing, Howe on their right, Pigot on the left, and Howe at 1 o'clock was waiting on Moulton's knoll for 600 reinforcements and for his men to enjoy their belated lunch. Plans for June 18 had been upset, but the three-days' ration which the men carried, as also the presence of four howitzers with the eight field pieces, were evidence of the intention to finish through to Cambridge that day, after this little obstruction was cleared aside.

Howe advanced light infantry on the Mystic beach, to sweep over the apparently light barricade and turn the American left. Stark let them advance to a stake he had driven forty paces from his front and then used "buck and ball" (four buckshots and one bullet). In ten minutes the force was cut to pieces. Pigot had moved more slowly

toward the redoubt, hindered by four successive pasture walls and also allowing for artillery support. The silence of the Americans along the whole line till they could distinguish the eyes of the British caused Clinton, then with Burgoyne in Boston to exclaim that no fight was to be made. Some 300 men sent by Prescott and Putnam into houses on the edge of Charlestown were to annoy Pigot's left so seriously that he was to be obliged to order one regiment to change front there. Knowlton's guns were to enfilade the grenadiers advancing on the wall to his left. A simultaneous crash of musketry at close range and the whole front was swept away. The line reeled, retired. "I never saw sheep lying thicker in a sheepfold" was Stark's description of the field. Some of the grenadier companies lost all but three men. There had been no precedent for this in English warfare.

Howe rallied bravely. By his orders, Burgoyne threw fire bombs into Charlestown and burned it as one would a wasp's nest. But even then a detachment found place at a wall and in a barn and tavern on the steep right of the redoubt, whence they delayed the second advance. Firmly for that second advance up the slopes, this time in full consciousness, the regulars made a magnificent spectacle for those who crowded the surrounding hills and the roofs in Boston. Again the furnace blast at close range, the line crumpled up, a few scattering shots and the victors of former battles were retreating in haste, some of them into the boats. Howe had lost all his twelve staff officers. The reinforcements landing on the beach toward Charlestown were without guidance, perceiving which Clinton, who with Howe and Burgoyne shared the honor of being England's best major-generals, hurried over from Boston and took command of them on Pigot's left

for the third advance. The hope that the provincials would leave their positions and pursue the grenadiers had been frustrated by American commanders, though not without difficulty. Enfilading the redoubt trench with his artillery and thus driving its defenders into the redoubt, Howe concentrated on that, making only a feint on the wall with his shattered grenadiers. And his orders were to throw aside knapsacks and use the bayonet only. Many stripped off their coats.

In the crude redoubt there was barely a round more of ammunition, and that had been taken from cannon cartridges. Warren, who had made his way thither alone after presiding at the meeting of the council of safety and had declined Prescott's proffer of command as he had Putnam's at the stone wall, was steadying his musket across the parapet with the men. The regulars came up to the windrows of their dead and dying comrades, to add thereto their final quota as the frightful blast struck them. But the survivors were up and on, around the north flank and over the south flank, with muskets clubbed and bayonets fixed, till the interior was a confused mass of combatants in bright uniform and in torn shirt sleeves. Himself parrying bayonet thrusts with his sword, Prescott held the rear wall of the redoubt till the forces on his left could get in position to cover and then ordered the retreat. That only thirty Americans were taken prisoners best indicates the fury of that moment, the moment when Warren was falling.

What with Stark and Knowlton menacing their right and Putnam assembling Starr's reserve on Bunker Hill close by, and what with the younger Abercrombie and Pitcairn and many other officers lying on the hillside, the British had no wish to follow. Some did get so far as to

see Putnam taking position, but the provincials made their way little molested, some with Putnam to Plowed Hill to dig in there and some with Prescott to Cambridge to report to Ward and there to learn that he had ordered reinforcements, but too late. Of the 2,500 regulars, 1,154 had fallen, according to their own report, and that number should be increased by perhaps 100 who crawled away and were cared for in the homes of colonists. The American loss was 45 killed and 304 wounded.

Who commanded the provincials? In the absence of written orders, a succinct account of the day of English against English answers. Putnam was hither and yon, encouraging the whole line, hurrying for reinforcements, directing general operations, proffering the command to Warren. Prescott could not be spared a moment from the redoubt; he also proffered the command to Warren, he ordered the retreat and he formally reported to Ward. The Governor of Massachusetts was commanding the British; there was no supreme commander on Breed's Hill. Two were acting as such as occasion arose, one of them with wider range than the other and with the ranking commission, neither of them covetous or jealous. In that is one of the examples they set.

Before the battle of Bunker Hill, Congress had recognized the forces around Cambridge as the national army. The day of the battle Washington was being appointed commander-in-chief and when he arrived at Cambridge early in July he brought commissions of four major generals, Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam and Philip Schuyler. Lack of ammunition was perhaps more grievous than the lack of equipment and discipline. There was nothing for it but to dig in, besiege Boston and drill. And as against all that was the fact that the terms of

most of the men would soon expire, a handicap which Washington was to be forced to contend with for another year.

A further alarming problem, common with armies even in the days of modern facilities, was the rationing of the army. It coming under the observation of Washington that the Connecticut men were faring well, he made inquiry and dispatched the result to Congress. It was to the effect that Captain Joseph Trumbull, son of the Governor and acting under the direction of the Council of Safety, was Connecticut's remarkable commissary, and Congress was not long in securing his services as commissary general for the whole army, an office which he held with eminent satisfaction till Congress assumed the duties itself, brought on the suffering at Valley Forge in 1777 and caused the resignation of Trumbull, who died worn out the following year. When the commissariat was re-established in 1788 another Connecticut man was called upon and was continued in that service to the end of the war, — Jeremiah Wadsworth. Connecticut was dubbed the "Provision State."

On the occasion of the receipt from Congress of declaration of reasons for resorting to arms, Putnam assembled his division to listen to the reading of it and at the conclusion thereof caused to be unfurled a flag just brought from Connecticut. "An Appeal to Heaven" were the letters in gold on one side, and on the other the state's armorial bearings, the shield and the three grapevines.

In the following siege of Boston, when patience was the chief virtue, Connecticut's troops and contributions were liberal, Knowlton was to add to his fame by a raid on Charlestown early in 1776. Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, a Yale graduate, who was to serve with distinction as a

colonel in the Connecticut line, was lieutenant colonel in command of the regiment of Parsons appointed brigadier-general. Three state regiments, under James Wadsworth, Jr., of Durham, Erastus Wolcott of Windsor who later was to be a justice of the Supreme Court and John Douglass of Plainfield, were sent to serve during the reorganization late in the year. And among the former sons of the Colony was John Peterson of Lenox, formerly of New Britain, member of the Massachusetts Congress and head of a regiment of Minute Men, who had been conspicuous at Bunker Hill and was to attain the rank of major-general after the battle of Monmouth.

The restless nature of Benedict Arnold unfitted him for siege work. Born in Norwich in 1740, great-grandson of Benedict Arnold who three times was Governor of Rhode Island, he ran away to the French and Indian War at the age of 15, but deserted and came home because he could not endure the restrictions. His commission as a Massachusetts colonel worth nothing at the capture of Ticonderoga, he was further miffed by failure to get command of the regiment of occupation and also by the inquiry into his conduct, resigned and returned to Cambridge. There he took up the plan that had been suggested by others for an invasion of Canada and, having Washington's approval, started with 1,100 men on September 17, 1775, by way of the Maine wilds, to co-operate with General Richard Montgomery in whose army were Colonel Benjamin Hinman's regiment, Colonel David Waterbury's, Ethan Allen's and the company of Captain Edward Mott of General Parsons's regiment. With Arnold, who had been commissioned colonel by Congress, were Captain Oliver Hanchett's company of Suffield, Major Return Jonathan Meigs of Middletown, Quartermaster

Benjamin Catlin of Wethersfield, Eleazer Oswald of the Governor's Foot Guard and Samuel Lockwood of Greenwich as volunteers on the staff of Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos of Windsor who was to turn back with his famished men and was to be exonerated by court martial as having exercised good judgment after all. The agony of the expedition marks the zeal of the survivors and did not daunt Arnold. When Montgomery, who had left Wooster in charge at Montreal, was killed and Arnold badly wounded at the final storming of Quebec, December 31, many of the Connecticut officers and men were among the captured. Arnold was made brigadier-general.

Meantime, on August 30, Stonington had been bombarded after two tenders from a British ship following merchantmen into the harbor, had been fired upon from the shore and had lost five men. Militia from nearby towns assembled and the ship sailed away. When Governor Trumbull informed Washington that in exercise of his judgment he was assembling more troops for the coast, his message crossed that of the general commanding to rush to him all the men he could and to disregard the British ships.

It was in November that Connecticut men joined in trying to regulate New York. A company of rough riders, assembled by Captain Isaac Sears of Connecticut and New York, took in hand the Rev. (later Bishop) Samuel Seabury, Judge Jonathan Fowler and Nathaniel Underhill, Tory propagandists, on their trip to the city where their chief objective was the printing shop of James Rivington, publisher of insidious literature. Rivington gave up, Fowler and Underhill pledged faith and the future bishop was sent under guard to board in New Haven till he should see the error of his ways; his plea to the Gen-

eral Assembly was so effective that he was released within a month. Directed by New York's unsympathetic Congress, Governor Tryon made requisition on Trumbull for the return of the Rivington presses but the learned Governor advised that that was an affair for the courts and not the State.

In January, 1776, Washington had learned that Clinton was about to sail from Boston southward. New York might be his destination. On request of the New York Assembly, General Wooster's regiment and a regiment under David Waterbury of Stamford were sent to the city environs. General Charles Lee, braggadocio as yet unmasked, asked for separate command there and on his way thither he who never had commanded soldiers persuaded Connecticut to let him have the use of Waterbury's regiment and also of one commanded by Andrew Ward of Guilford. The New York Committee of Safety held up Ward on the boundary line while it referred to Congress the question of prerogative. That being settled, Ward was returned to Lee and they arrived in the city about two hours after Clinton with a few troops had anchored in the bay.

In the prevailing excitement the Connecticut men were most welcome, as also was a regiment brought over from New Jersey. Men and boys went to work on fortifications, Lee indulged in bombast and Clinton pursued his course to the southern coast, in which direction Lee soon was ordered to go, rejoicing thereat because he was a Virginian.

The year had opened with no Royal Governors remaining on duty, all having abandoned their posts except the Governor of Maryland who was under parole and the Governor of New Jersey, Benjamin Franklin's misguided

son, who was under arrest and was to be sent to Connecticut to be under Trumbull's eye until Congress concluded the best place for him was a jail where writing material was not to be had, and he was sent to Litchfield.

Over the troops at Boston a flag with thirteen red and white stripes and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on the blue field was floating. The answer of King George to the colonists' petition was soon to come, not in words but in the act of his minatory address to Parliament, the appointment of the brutal Germain to the department for America and the employment of Hessians to do what it was prophesied England could not do alone. Thereby were the colonists united. Terrorism, such as the burning of Portland, was met by steps of precaution, as when Connecticut now put the defenses of New London into better condition.

General Sir William Howe who had succeeded Gage (not whole-souled in his cause), evacuated Boston March 8, 1776, hurried on by Washington's bold demonstrations to such degree that he left much of his supplies so greatly needed by the Americans. Indeed it is as difficult for us as it was for Congress to conceive how serious was the shortage in necessities. More than 2,000 of the little army were without weapons, and those who had them were not much better off. Silas Deane of Wethersfield was sent on a secret mission to France to secure relief for the situation and by his cleverness was successful to a degree, though he was to get into entanglements which were to result in his ultimate recall by Congress and the loss of his fortune and peace of mind. The lifting of the French embargo on powder and the manner in which Connecticut folk responded to the call for salt petre were helpful to the cause.

Instances multiplied of misguided zeal and indifference of those in quasi power to the judgment of the very ones they had set up to lead. The first thing Washington had to do at the behest of Congress, after he had moved his small and dwindling army from Boston to New York in April, 1776, was to detach four battalions and then still others to the number of 3,000 from his total of 8,301, to be followed by supplies for 10,000 men, to Canada where General Wooster had been left with about 400 men to work out a scheme for transforming the province into a colony to be represented in Congress. He had achieved remarkable results under the very eyes of Carleton but in order to carry on he must have men and supplies, and withal Quebec must be conquered. If Quebec were not to conquer first, not only men but supplies must be sent him at once. So the aged general wrote to the Colonies and to Congress. Coincidentally it transpired that the British plan was to recover all Canada, work down the Hudson and, in conjunction with Howe, cut off New England. Washington asked for a regiment from each New England Colony while Congress sent forces from the South. Colonels Charles Burrall of Canaan and Samuel Elmore of Sharon headed the Connecticut contingent. The latter was detailed to Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk. Arnold was at Montreal recovering from his wound. On April 1, Wooster had vainly led a pitiful command of 2,000, including many Green Mountain Boys, against Quebec—men underfed and destitute of the first requisites. So effective was the plea of Wooster that Congress forgot, apparently, what Washington had gone to New York for and compelled the centering of attention on the North. Meantime Admiral Lord Howe was bringing 20,000 European veterans to attack New York.

Schuyler "owning himself unable to command the men of Connecticut," was succeeded by Thomas of Massachusetts in the Canadian leadership and he himself fell a victim to smallpox, which was devastating the ranks, just after Congress had sent word that he must be maintained there and had authorized the employment of Indians. That the frantic appeals of Congress were vain was manifest when Carleton stepped out of his citadel and put the irregulars to rout. The one problem remaining was to get the survivors, sick, famished and encumbered, back to the American territory. How this was solved by General Sullivan and men like Burrall is only another of the terrible pages of those times. Wooster who was captured was exchanged and later became commander of the militia in Connecticut.

REORGANIZATION AND NEW YORK CAMPAIGN

After the congressional committee, headed by Franklin, had visited Cambridge on the eve of the expiration of enlistments late in 1775, and Congress had decided upon a continental army of 23,000 for a few months, there was reorganization of the Connecticut troops. The original six regiments were made five. Putnam's was assigned to Arnold, but he being in Canada the command was given to John Durkee of Norwich; Wyllys became colonel of Spencer's old command, and for the three others the colonels were Huntington, Parsons, and Charles Webb of Stamford. These regiments remained with Washington. Spencer was to be made major-general and Parsons brigadier-general, continental, August 9. In the special sessions of the early summer of 1776, more regiments of regular state troops were ordered, and also of the militia, bringing the total of the former up to eighteen and of the

latter up to thirty-three. Militia colonels appointed at the May session were Matthew Talcott, Samuel Chapman, William Williams, Gold S. Silliman and Zebulon Butler who commanded the first of the two regiments which were to come from Westmoreland in the Wyoming valley. Lieutenant Samuel Mott of Preston was sent to Ticonderoga as engineer and became colonel of the First Regiment there. Heman Swift of Cornwall commanded the Second Regiment and David Waterbury of Stamford was made the brigadier-general.

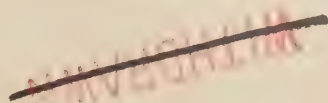
True historical conception of what the Revolution meant for the Colonies cannot be had from the description of field maneuvers alone, nor perhaps as well as from a faithful picture of the conditions and of how the troops were raised and marshaled in possibly the most energetic and responsive of all the states. The storm had not burst suddenly. Especially after the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament, foresighted men had tried to make drill popular among the militia. The enrolment and organization of companies, regiments, divisions—for the Continental army, for special “hurry calls” and for the imperative home defense—bring the names of these “militarists” into prominence in all kinds and degrees of service; and nothing better shows the alarm and how it was met than even a skeleton story of the utilization of all available man power over and over again.

Of the state regiments under the second call in 1775, we have noted those that were sent for duty around Boston while the army was being reorganized; those that accompanied Lee and those that were assigned for the Canadian campaign. In addition to these, four regiments for duty along the threatened western border were commanded by Samuel Whiting of Stratford, Thaddeus

Cook of Wallingford, Roger Enos of Windsor and John Ely of Saybrook. Colonel Waterbury was promoted to be brigadier in the northern department and was succeeded by Erastus Wolcott in command of the regiment at New London. At the June session of the Assembly Colonel James Wadsworth was made commander of a brigade to be rushed to Washington — eight regiments under Gold S. Silliman of Fairfield, John Douglass of Plainfield, Fisher Gay of Farmington, John Chester of Wethersfield, William Douglas of Northford, Comfort Sage of Middletown, Heman Swift of Cornwall and Samuel Selden of Hadlyme (who was to die in a New York prison). The supplies for each regiment included four hogsheads of rum and two of molasses. The Legislature voted £110,000 in credit bills.

There were five regiments of light horse, under Silliman's direction, doing duty at intervals. One body of 500, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Seymour of Hartford, reported in New York for duty, but because of disagreement as to guard duty which Washington desired returned home, though only for a short time, and its subsequent duty received special praise from the commander-in-chief. General Wooster with several companies was on duty around New York guarding stock before he was ordered to Canada and other units were employed on Long Island.

On request of President Hancock of Congress, a military census of the State was ordered. The Hon. Oliver Ellsworth was sent to Albany to collect from General Schuyler the amount the Colony had paid its men in the Canadian campaign. The fort at Saybrook was ordered rebuilt. Letters of marque were voted for privateers. Colonel Joshua Porter, as overseer, was in charge of the



work being done at the Salisbury iron ore furnaces where in the course of the war, many guns and other material, including the great chain which was strung across the Hudson near West Point, were turned out.

Laws concerning high treason and allegiance to the king were wiped out in these early sessions; suppression of Tories was provided for; a Sound fleet was started; Middletown lead mines were ordered to be worked to the utmost capacity; cannon were voted for New London, Groton, Stonington, New Haven and Milford, and all troops were put under strict regulations, with attendance at religious services compulsory and profanity prohibited. Those not enlisted in the infantry, the artillery, the light horse, the artificers, the navy or any of the regular arms of service which were beginning to take shape were bound to hold themselves in readiness for a call at any minute.

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND

And call came loudly from the Governor on August 12, when, in a hand which showed no tremor of age or excitement, a model of penmanship, he wrote out a circular to the town officials throughout the State, summoning every able-bodied citizen to start at once with his equipment for New York which was being threatened by 30,000 British. They were to form themselves into companies if they could; otherwise, attach themselves to the nearest companies and hurry on. "Stand forth," said the circular, "for our defense, play the man for God and the cities of our God. May the Lord of Hosts and the God of the armies of Israel be your captain, your leader, your conductor and saviour, give wisdom and conduct to your generals and officers and inspire our soldiers with

State of Connecticut, Bay Am. 1776

Ex. 3

By the Captain Generalls Commanders
Chief To all able bodied effective men not oblig'd
to do military duty in any train Band & such as
are Gentlemen of the horse - Greeting

Intelligence is just received from General Washington
of the necessity of a large augmentation of our Forces at
New York - That the Number of our Enemies is greatly
encreas'd by the Arrival of General Clinton with the
whole Southern Army from S.^c Carolina - That the
Fleet which came in a few days since are Fleigians
and Scotch Highlanders part of 12000 who were left off
Newfoundland, in the whole making 30,000 men
That it is said by Officers both of the Army & Navy
they are to attack New York, Long Island & in the
Course of a Week - In this Day of Calamity & great
Expectation when our enemies are exerting every nerve
to pluck up pull down and destroy us it is of the
greatest necessity that every thing in our power be
done for defence of our rights, properties lives and
posterity - So trust altogether to the Justice of our

The same provisions and wages shall be given
you, as to others that go into the Service & it shall
be recommended to the generall Assembly to do every
thing for your service that Justice requires
Given under my hand in Lebanon the 12th Aug^r 1776

Jon. Trumbull

courage, resolution and fortitude, that God may delight to spare and save us for his name's sake."

There was nothing of this sort among the German hirelings and the hardened but half-hearted regulars Lord Howe's fleet was bringing. Trained and experienced in military regulations, tactics and maneuvers, they could laugh at the disposition of the forces arrayed to repel them. There lay Washington in the most untenable of positions, his center on Manhattan Island, his far-flung left across East River around to the shore beyond Brooklyn, and his right across the Hudson on the lowlands of New Jersey. With 13,557 men on August 8, dwindling to a few battalions and then coming up again to 25,000 just before the fight—men who, like those on the alarm call in Connecticut, had dropped the scythe, grabbed the powder horn and run, hoping to be home again by Saturday night—the calm Virginian was to meet the 7,000 increased to 25,000 and 130 ships on the eve of the battle. The very arrangement of his mob of farmers, whom he had not been permitted to assemble soon enough and hold long enough to drill because of the cry of "militarism," was prescribed by a Congress hundreds of miles away. To his one great friend and the one patriot Governor, Trumbull, he had written in gratitude for the generous response from that State; to Congress he had written for the makings of an army and for military leadership by some one, but in vain. In the "Lord of Hosts" whom Trumbull implored must have been his only hope. Faith and courage did not wane.

It was on June 28, that Washington had written Trumbull that General Howe already was at the Hook with his army and that the fleet had left Halifax June 9, with reinforcements for New York. Clinton had returned from

the South and more German hirelings from overseas were expected daily. Connecticut had planned her organization under Wadsworth, as we have seen, and Philip B. Bradley of Ridgefield and Jedediah Huntington of Norwich had been added to the list of colonels, but she feared that except for her horsemen, who were hurried on, her regiments could not be in line before the blow fell. Connecticut men since March had been working on the fortifications around the city, beneath a scorching sun and with little food, till many of them were incapacitated. When Trumbull was writing his appeal, the council was designating fourteen regiments of the militia as a nucleus to hasten away without waiting to complete the organization ordered earlier and was appointing Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield to lead them. Anybody was to be taken who would go and the thousands of them were to increase Washington's total materially—one-third of that total from Connecticut. New York provided 3,000, Pennsylvania and the South 2,000. But of them all there were barely 8,000 fit for duty when the battle began.

The commanders of the fourteen regiments were Major Roger Newberry of Windsor, Lieutenant-Colonel Jabez Thompson of Derby, Lieutenant-Colonel Ichabod Lewis of Stratford, Colonel Elizur Talcott of Glastonbury, Lieutenant-Colonel John Mead of Greenwich, Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Baldwin of Waterbury, Colonel Benjamin Hinman of Southbury, Lieutenant-Colonel Selah Heart of Farmington, Colonel Joseph P. Cooke of Danbury, Colonel Epaphras Sheldon of Torrington, Colonel Jonathan Pettibone of Simsbury, Lieutenant-Colonel George Pitkin of Hartford, Colonel Samuel Chapman of Tolland and Colonel Matthew Talcott of Middletown. Those assembling under General Saltonstall east of the

river for duty in Westchester County, New York, and on Long Island, were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Ely of Saybrook, Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs of Mansfield, Major Sylvanus Graves, Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver Smith of Stonington, Colonel Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret, Lieutenant-Colonel Obadiah Horsford of Hebron, Major Zabdiel Rogers of New London, Colonel John Douglass of Plainfield and Colonel Henry Champion of Colchester.

It was obvious that the main assault would be upon the left wing, in Brooklyn. Greene who had been in chief command there had succumbed to the prevailing sickness, Sullivan had replaced him, but on the eve of the battle Washington ordered Putnam as second to himself to assume the command of that important position, his directions given in writing. With no tactical training against the best in Europe, ingenuity was the sole reliance. Before Putnam was appointed, on August 24, Howe had landed from Staten Island 15,000 splendidly equipped troops. On August 25 two more brigades, German troops, swelled the enemy's total to 20,000. The great fleet was ready to co-operate.

At three o'clock of the morning of the twenty-seventh the firing began on the wooded heights along the road from the shore. Suffice it to say that Howe was retarded greatly beyond his expectations. Parsons's regiment was cut to pieces, he himself narrowly escaping; Huntington's was overrun and most of it made prisoners. Captain Jewett of Lyme was killed with his own sword which he had given to his captor. Washington was on the ground throughout the day, no doubt marvelling that his forces were not swept off the island. That by evening there was no sign of panic and the enemy was not yet victorious

inspired hope. Heavy rain came on to spoil most of what little ammunition was left, but a northerly wind kept the ships from getting between Washington and Manhattan Island, and altogether, especially with the morning fog, made it possible for him to get off his brigades under the very guns of the enemy and land the last man of them in New York. The guns abandoned were rust-eaten, useless. Cornwallis well said it was one of the most masterly retreats in history.

It was not till September 15 that the enemy seemed to recover his wits and push on after the Americans. At Kip's Bay, now Thirty-fourth Street, the first landing was made, under cover of the guns of five frigates. The redcoats advancing from eighty-four transports found only a few recruits of Colonel William Douglas's regiment and others behind scant earthworks and with a feeble support under Parsons. Washington in person rallied them after their first break, but the odds were absurdly heavy, there was confusion and the tale went back home that "our men ran." Another masterly retreat began, toward Harlem Heights. Putnam with half the army had to be left to his own devices in the lower part of the island—and they were sufficient to enable him to get his men through by hugging the shore of North River. When on the sixteenth the British pushed on, Washington flanked them with Pennsylvania and Connecticut marksmen. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Knowlton was the leader of "Knowlton's Rangers" of 120 picked men with Nathan Hale among them but on other duty this day. They were the embodiment of the spirit of Lexington. When Knowlton led them to the charge, he broke the British formation and then, as he fell mortally hurt,

he saw the red lines retreating hurriedly before the onset of his support.

Hale's other duty was the gaining of information about the British forces on Long Island. Washington needed it. To fellow officers who would hold him back he said: "I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by becoming necessary." He was only 21, a graduate of Yale in 1773, a school master at Haddam and then at New London when he responded to the first call for troops in Massachusetts. At New York he recently had been conspicuous in the clever capture of a sloop loaded with supplies. In the garb of a country teacher, on this mission for Washington, he had gained the information desired and was waiting the arrival of the row boat which was to take him back to headquarters when he was seized. Denied the comfort of his Bible, his letters to his mother and his betrothed torn up before him, he was hanged by the ruffianly Cunningham on the morning of September 22. His last words were caught and passed on by the onlookers of lower New York, to inspire men forever to patriotic sacrifice — "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

Howe's efforts to cut off Washington's retreat northward had failed ignominiously. Washington held him back firmly while he secured position near White Plains where his troops behaved admirably in the fighting of October 28. The regiments of Chester, Douglass and Silliman lost 150 in killed and wounded. Howe, checked, was about to turn southward. Washington needed every man and all supplies. He was dismayed to learn that his subalterns, with Congress applauding, had tried to hold Forts Washington and Lee, heavily reinforced by Connecticut

troops, against Washington's desire, and had lost them (on November 16) with their garrisons and equipment. The prisoners, including Knowlton's Rangers, were to suffer frightful experiences within the enemy's lines. And Washington was needing them all and more to send with Putnam into Jersey with view to head off the British in their move toward Philadelphia. Some of the Connecticut troops were left with those who were to protect the line of the Hudson, including those under Parsons till he also was called away for the southern campaign. From then on the history of the Connecticut forces was the history of the army of Washington in the South and of Schuyler and Gates in the North.

As the usual concomitant of war, increase in cost of living was bringing great distress at home. The Assembly sought a remedy in prohibiting exports and in fixing the price of labor, on a basis of 3 shillings a day for farm help in summer, and also the retail price on necessities. Of salt there was a general dearth. The price-fixing law was repealed in October, 1777, but re-enacted early the following year after a Colonial convention called by Congress to meet in New Haven.

Four regiments were hurried off in November to help Washington till March, to serve longer if he should ask them to, and those who went in without time limit should receive a state bonus of one hundred acres of land. The colonels were Whiting, Cook, Enos and Ely. Cannons were sent to Norwalk and Greenwich. Almost simultaneously six brigades of militia were being organized with Wooster and Jabez Huntington of Norwich as major-generals and the following as brigadier-generals: Erastus Wolcott, Saltonstall, Wadsworth, Silliman, Eliphalet Dyer of Windham, and Oliver Wolcott. Lieuten-

ant-Colonel Elisha Sheldon was appointed to command a regiment of horse called for by Washington, and £10,000 was voted to him. All between ages sixteen and sixty were summoned, to be divided into four classes to take turns by lot, so as not to interfere with their home work. A bonus of £10 and one blanket in addition to the Congressional bonus was allowed for those who entered the Continental service. The Assembly authorized £60,000 in credit bills and the government appointed loan officers to help raise funds.

It was urged to enlist all possible in the western towns for Washington's army for two months "on this most interesting and hopeful occasion." organization to be effected and commissions received en route to Peekskill, and to this end committees were appointed to arouse the people. Whiting, Thaddeus Cook, Ely and Enos took charge of four regiments. Fifteen companies reported under a similar act of the November session and were placed under the command of Noadiah Hooker of Farmington. Because of the petty raiding from Rhode Island several seacoast companies were raised and one regiment for New London and vicinity and another for the State in general.

Inasmuch as the enemy might succeed in his plan to isolate New England, committees of the New England States met to arrange a special army for their territory. Connecticut was asked to send 1,092 against the British at Newport and Colonel Ely's regiment to make up the deficiency. It was further voted by the Connecticut Assembly to investigate the brutal treatment of American prisoners and at the same time see to it that prisoners in this State were properly cared for.

The anxiety at the front was reflected in the increasing

number of calls for short-time service, like that in March, 1777, when Washington begged for 2,000 to be dispatched secretly to Peekskill for at least six weeks, and Wadsworth was sent out with such a force to be commanded by Wyllys, Belden, M. Cook, Increase Moseley of Woodbury, Burrall, Hooker, P. Cook, Oliver Wolcott, Humphrey and Sage as colonels. It is small wonder that there had to be resort to draft to complete the quota for the Continental army. Any two men were allowed to hire one substitute; companies incomplete by May 26 (at first) were to be filled in by detaching from the alarm list. In July Wolcott was directed to have his brigade ready to march to Lake George quickly, on advices from Schuyler; Ward was ordered to be ready to go to Lake George or New Jersey. Some of the militia details were sent to Peekskill on horseback. By August the situation had become so desperate that some individual, under heavy bond, was to fill the regiment to be raised for the Continental service in each district, and was to pay \$8 for each recruit and \$5 for each deserter. Two regiments that month were ordered to march under lieutenant-colonels and officers from the militia, troops of horse with them, for two months' service, and the selectmen were to care for their families, drafting wherever necessary. A large part of the militia already had gone to Peekskill, the general rendezvous, under Ward. Enos and Ely were commanders of the regiments for defense of the State. Huntington succeeded Wooster as state major-general when the latter was killed near Danbury; Wadsworth succeeded Huntington; Tyler, Ward and John Douglass were made brigadiers.

One of the incidents to bring dismay and yet to stir the patriotism was the exploit of General Arnold and

General Waterbury on Lake Champlain, October 11, 1776, coincidental with the New York campaign. And for the enemy it demonstrated the ingenuity and determination of the Americans. All material along the coasts was being requisitioned for privateers and regular vessels, yet Arnold managed to get by long overland route what he needed during the summer to bind together the wood which was around him in abundance for a fleet on the lake, and to equip it. Neither he nor Waterbury was a sailor and their crews were mostly soldiers. There were three row-galleys and four sloops. Carleton, in his generous preparations for his expedition to the Hudson, was leading his picked forces of soldiers and marines down the lake when Arnold attacked him and after inflicting serious loss escaped under cover at night. Two days later he was overtaken by the British fleet which with his one war vessel he held up till his other vessels could get out of range; then he ran his own aground and escaped to Crown Point. Carleton released his Connecticut prisoners with a rebuke but excused them inasmuch as their Governor was still recognized officially by King George.

Another surprising illustration of American ingenuity and skill had been furnished in August of 1776. David Bushnell of Westbrook had invented the submarine. His clam-shaped craft was footpropelled by one man, whose head was barely at the surface when the machine was up in action, protected by a shield. He could see by a device not unlike that of the modern submarine. He should come up under a vessel, detach a large torpedo resting on the outside of his craft and, after boring one end of it into the hull by a screw arrangement, leave it to explode by a time fuse. It was approved by the Council of Safety, and Captain Ezra Lee of Lyme undertook to sail it. Wash-

ington consented to a trial of it on Lord Howe's fleet in New York harbor. The copper sheathing interfered but when the torpedo was left to float away it exploded and astounded the fleet, destroyed one small boat and its men and caused Lord Howe to take great precaution thereafter. An attempt on a frigate at New London blew up a schooner which was astern of her, killing several men.

While some of the Connecticut troops after the New York campaign, including Parsons's, joined Washington immediately and others later in his almost impossible project to stay Howe in his march southward, and still others were on duty with Putnam guarding the Hudson lines, Putnam himself being sent to superintend the fortifications at Philadelphia on December 9, the time of many of them expired and they returned home. But nowhere, at home or at the camp, was there to be winter's respite. There was the fighting at Germantown, at Trenton and at Princeton and the brief and watchful rest at Morristown, while throughout the army and at home there was the reorganization of forces under the state "line" system, following that of the Continentals and originally of the British. The evils of short-term enlistments were at last attested.

Nine Connecticut militia regiments at different times were ordered to Washington in Pennsylvania, the Connecticut "line" at Peekskill being kept intact till after the defeat at Brandywine September 11, when Washington called for and received the regiments of Durkee, Bradley, Swift and Chandler in time for the battle of Germantown. Varnum, Huntington and Prentice arrived later. Major Tallmadge was in command of two troops of Sheldon's dragoons during this fighting through the fall. These same men at Fort Mifflin, November 16, stood firmly

under the bombardment which cost them many men and several officers. And they were with Washington when he withdrew toward Valley Forge.

In September and October, 1776, Congress had made its first call for three-years' men—eighty-eight regiments, apportioned among the states according to population. Connecticut's quota was eight, the officers to be named by the State. Congress asked also for recruits other than infantry and for "additional infantry" or a regiment at large.

From 1777 to reorganization in 1881 Connecticut's line had three major-generals, Spencer, Arnold and Parsons; two brigadiers. Wooster and Jedediah Huntington, and colonels commanding as follows: Jedediah Huntington, Josiah Starr of New Milford vice Huntington promoted May 12, 1777; Charles Webb; Zebulon Butler vice Webb discharged for disability in March, 1778; Samuel Wyllys; John Durkee; Philip B. Bradley; William Douglas, Return Jonathan Meigs vice Douglas deceased, May 28, 1777; Heman Swift; John Chandler of Newtown; Giles Russell of Stonington vice Chandler discharged for disability in March, 1778; Isaac Sherman, lieutenant-colonel commandant vice Russell deceased October 28, 1779, (rank of colonel having been discontinued in 1779). "Additional Infantry"—one-half under Colonel Samuel B. Webb of Wethersfield, lately aid on Washington's staff, and one-half under Meigs, who also was to command Meigs's Light Infantry under Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, July 15, 1779, with Isaac Sherman as his lieutenant-colonel there, Henry Champion of Colchester major, and Aaron Benjamin of Stratford adjutant. The Second Cavalry or Sheldon's was credited to Connecticut and also, under Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazor Oswald of

New Haven, four companies of Lamb's Artillery, and under Captain Buckland of Hartford, one company of the First or Crane's artillery. In April, 1777, all the regiments of the line were assembled at Peekskill where Putnam was in command, and they were joined there by the dragoons and artillery for the summer, guarding against the thrusts from the north and the south. In 1778 the line was consolidated into one division, two brigades under Parsons and Huntington.

Of these regiments, Huntington's, Webb's, Durkee's and Bradley's were at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-8 and the battles preceding and those following in the early summer—coming back to the Hudson after Monmouth, wintering at Putnam's camp at Redding, and later having detachments in Meigs's command in Wayne's desperate and successful undertaking at Stony Point, as indeed did all the regiments. Swift's regiment was assigned to Lafayette's division in 1780. The regiments not with Washington at Valley Forge were for the most part at work on the fortifications opposite West Point to which post Meigs's regiment was ordered as soon as Arnold's treachery had been revealed. Parsons and Huntington sat on the board that tried André, and Huntington also was on General Lee's courtmartial.

Other organizations to see active service were Colonel Obadiah Johnson's regiment on Long Island, in December, 1777; Colonel Chapman's and that of Colonel Samuel McLellan of Woodstock, under Brigadier-General John Tyler of Preston in Sullivan's move against the British at Newport and at the battle of Rhode Island, August 29, 1778; General Douglass's detachment to assist General Spencer in Rhode Island; the militia regiments that were hurried to the Hudson under Moseley and Enos after the

battle of Monmouth, in June, 1778; companies of "additional infantry" in Colonel Shelburne's regiment under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs; other such infantry in Colonel Seth Warner's regiment under Major Elisha Painter of New Haven; artificers under Captains Gamaliel Painter of Salisbury and Jarius Wilcox of Wethersfield, and a company from the Connecticut line in Washington's Life Guard under command of Captain William Colfax of New London who was promoted to be commandant in 1781. Ebenezer Huntington of Norwich, leaving his studies at Yale, became brigade major, deputy adjutant general and commander of a battalion at Yorktown. Later he commanded the state militia and was representative in Congress.

RAID ON DANBURY

Connecticut, the "Provision State," at all times was tempting prey for the British, but, because of the activities which have here been outlined, it was too much of a hornets' nest till the spring of 1777 when it so nearly had denuded itself of defenders. Of the centers for supplies moved back from the coast, Danbury was conspicuous and the nearest to reach. Under Clinton's orders, the ambitious but ever (for himself) cautious Governor Tryon set out for that objective on April 24 with 3,000 men in six warships. Further purpose was to draw from the small but troublesome American army, in Jersey. That was not to be consummated. A force of 2,000 was landed at the mouth of the Saugatuck River, near which it went into bivouac for the night. Generals Wooster and Arnold in New Haven hearing of this gathered what men they could and on the twenty-sixth joined General Silliman at Redding, bivouacking at Bethel in a heavy rain. The total

strength was not over 700. The British reached Danbury the afternoon of the twenty-sixth where a paltry body of fifty soldiers and a hundred militiamen acted as rear guard for the fleeing inhabitants.

The Hessians on reaching the rum supply, in the process of destruction, became so intoxicated that nothing more could be done that night. Tryon, apprised of the approach of the Americans, aroused his men in the morning and after they had marked the homes of the Tories set torch to the stores, shops and dwellings, destroying nineteen. His men being still incapacitated for other service, he hastened to withdraw them, giving the American camp a wide berth. Arnold sped off with 500 to take good position in Ridgefield to deliver a flank attack, while Wooster with 200 harassed the rear. By early morning, Wooster overtook them at a point where they had been delayed by the absence of a bridge the Tories had told them about, but which the militia had destroyed, and, rushing in upon them at their mess, he captured forty. At 11 o'clock he again overtook their disorderly column near Ridgefield and in the charge fell mortally wounded.

Tryon sought to dislodge Silliman and Arnold with his light artillery. It cost an hour of time and the lives of many of his men, the bodies of thirty of them being left unburied. Among the killed on the American side was Colonel Abram Gold of the militia who sat his horse till the enemy surrounded him. Lieutenants Ephraim Middlebrook, Samuel Elmore and William Thompson and Dr. David Atwater of New Haven also fell. Arnold's horse was shot under him and a soldier advanced upon him demanding his surrender, to which Arnold replied with a shot that killed the man. The British, after sleeping on their arms that night, hurried on the next morning

while the Americans were rallying from all sections and General Sullivan was arriving after a forced march from the Hudson with a few reinforcements. Three pieces of Colonel John Lamb's artillery in charge of Lieutenant Oswald, a few old pieces of artillery from Fairfield, sixty soldiers and three companies of volunteers from New Haven had been brought up by Colonel Huntington. Driven beyond the bridge they had expected to cross, the British could not get into position till they reached Compo Hill near the shore. In this rush General Arnold lost his second horse. Colonel Lamb led his men in the charge up the hill and when he was wounded, his men, thinking he was dead, fell back.

By this time, forces from the fleet came to the rescue of their bewildered comrades and covered the embarkation. The total American killed and wounded was sixty; the British lost 120 and 40 prisoners. Congress voted Arnold a horse fully caparisoned and also allowed him the much-coveted honor of rank as major-general but not with relative rank.

Soon after this Colonel Meigs sailed across the Sound from Sachem's Head with 160 men in whaleboats and at 1 o'clock on the morning of May 23, surprised a body of 100 men guarding valuable stores at Sag Harbor. Approaching from five directions, he rushed the guard while Captain Troop took possession of eleven vessels and the wharves. The vessels were burned, ninety prisoners were taken and a large amount of stores was destroyed, despite the steady fire from the twelve guns of a British schooner not 150 yards away. Six of the British were killed. At 2 o'clock that afternoon Colonel Meigs was back at Guilford without the loss of a man. He was cited in general orders, commended in a personal letter from Washington.

who suggested that Sergeant Ginnings be promoted to be ensign, and received a handsome sword from Congress.

On December 19 of that year, Colonel Samuel B. Webb and Colonel Ely, with parts of two battalions, started across the Sound to destroy stores at Shetocket, Long Island, but being overhauled by a frigate were compelled to run their vessel ashore. Sixty Americans were captured including the colonels, who later were paroled.

BURGOYNE'S DEFEAT

It needed an affair like that of Burgoyne's defeats in September and October of 1777 to put more faith and courage into the troops—to show what they could do even when poorly handled. Burgoyne's great army was working through from Canada to carry out the plan to cut off New England. Schuyler was falling back upon Albany, whining for more troops. Washington sent him Arnold and wrote Connecticut and Massachusetts to forward militia. He assured Schuyler that Burgoyne could not muster more than 5,000, which was about one-half the force he himself was contending with in the South, and called his attention to the enemy's uncovered and long line of communication. Arnold was sent to relieve Fort Stanwix, besieged by Saint-Leger and his savages under the brutal Colonel John Butler who had been committing fiendish depredations throughout the Mohawk valley. The besiegers fled on hearing of Arnold's approach and their Indians turned on them. Connecticut men at Stanwix were the first to fly the newly designed Stars and Stripes.

Burgoyne, still encouraging his Indians, made through to the Hudson and sent forth a large force of British, Germans and French Canadians toward Bennington, Ver-

mont, for forage. Colonels Stark and Warner with militia routed them utterly, winning one of the most important engagements of the war. Meantime Gates was superseding Schuyler, taking command August 19. Washington's Fabian tactics had so delayed Howe in his getting possession of Philadelphia (September 19) that Howe was unable to send north troops to co-operate with Burgoyne. Gates received from Portsmouth the goodly supply of cannon and small arms which Silas Deane had been able to secure in France—and thereby to contribute more toward the coming victory than he usually is given credit for. Connecticut troops, Hinman's regiment and a battalion, under General Oliver Wolcott, were added to Gates's army.

Gates advanced to Bemis Heights on the Hudson with 9,000 men; Burgoyne with 6,000, after tedious portage, encamped within nine miles of him but was paralyzed for immediate action by the Massachusetts militia who had captured and broken up his base on Lake Champlain and had destroyed the bridges. Gates neglected the opportunity thus afforded. On September 19, Burgoyne moved out to drive the Americans from their well chosen position. Regiments of state troops were thrown into the line at intervals, and as no general officer appeared on the field, they had to fight independently. Burgoyne finally brought up his artillery. The two Connecticut regiments of Thaddeus Cook and Jonathan Latimer of New London were ordered in at that crisis, under the command of Cook, and the engagement became general. One brigade in Burgoyne's rear would have caused his annihilation, but none was sent until too near dark. Burgoyne bivouacked on the field,—shattered, with a loss of over 600, but desperate. Cook's regiments

were among those singled out for high praise; they had lost more than any other two regiments in the fight.

Arnold was for immediate attack and in the consequent dispute with the incorrigible Gates demanded and received passport to Philadelphia. Burgoyne held on in hope of Clinton's working through from New York according to the programme. Putnam alone intervened. As has been seen he had been dispatching every man he could spare for Washington's death grapple and had but 2,000 men. Parsons's brigade, when Clinton approached. Betrayed by a Tory messenger he weakened his position and was compelled to take to the hills back of Peekskill. Clinton succeeded in clearing the way to Albany but then turned back to New York, leaving only Vaughan to pillage along the river. The militia brigades of Silliman and Ward, under Major-General Wadsworth,—the regiments of Whiting, Moseley, Hooker, Cooke, Humphrey, and Newberry, and the battalions of Woodruff and John Strong, rushed on from Connecticut—enabled him to re-establish himself.

The Continentals and militia were ever busy around Burgoyne, cutting off supplies and capturing outposts, while the Indians were deserting him. Still refusing to yield to his generals and retreat quickly, he led out a picked force, with artillery, on October 7, only to be driven back with great loss. Thereupon Arnold, without orders but an inspiration to the men, hurled an attack against the strongest point in the enemy's position. His horse was shot under him and he himself was badly wounded—in the leg as at Quebec. The key to the position was cut off by Massachusetts troops and Burgoyne gave his attention to retreat, only to find himself hemmed in by the Americans and all hope gone. One company of

Sheldon's Dragoons, attached to Gates's army and under command of Captain Thomas Y. Seymour of Hartford, was among those doing efficient work. With his surrender, October 17, Burgoyne's total loss after leaving Lake Champlain had been not less than 10,000 together with large supplies of munitions.

To make the protection along the Hudson stronger, Putnam called attention to West Point and Kosciusko designed the new fortifications, the first work upon which was done by Parsons's brigade. A Tory officer acting as a spy was caught in Putnam's camp. Tryon wrote Putnam a threatening letter, to which Putnam replied in three lines, closing with: "He was tried as a spy, he was condemned as a spy, and you may rest assured, sir, he shall be hanged as a spy," and then, after the formal signature; "P. S. — Afternoon. He is hanged."

The contest for the Delaware River, the resignation of Howe, the terrible winter for half-clad and starving Continentals at Valley Forge with Washington the victim of the Clinton-Gates cabal, the British evacuation of Pennsylvania, the conciliatory resolutions of Parliament manfully rejected in America, England's troubles in securing more troops on the continent because of the spreading conviction that America's battle was for the rights of man, France's avowal of her treaty with America and consequent war between her and England, with Spain and Holland to be brought in later — these were events and conditions which alternately raised and depressed the spirits of men like Trumbull and the soldiers they still were encouraging to fight it out, pay or no pay, till well on into 1778. Connecticut's appeal to her people, in October, 1777, was characteristic and in striking contrast with the utterances across the water. It read: "Whereas, the

multitude of our iniquities have provoked the righteous Governor of the Universe to display the tokens of his wrath against us, by means whereof we are involved in the calamities of bloody and unnatural wars, tending to produce profaneness, injustice, oppression and every kind of vice," it was desired by the General Assembly that the Governor should call upon all to cultivate the virtues.

James T. Adams in his analytical New England history quotes and endorses Channing's statement that "in courage and devotion they (the Tories) equaled, if, indeed, it should not be said they excelled, those in the patriotic party, for during the war more Colonials fought in the ranks of the British army than joined the American one"; and also, of those banished from Massachusetts in 1778 the names read "like the bead roll of the oldest and noblest families concerned in the founding and upbuilding of New England civilization." In Connecticut most of the Tories were in jail or on their way there, for various misdemeanors like burning and pillaging, or were hiding in the forests; though to those who were of quiet deportment every privilege was accorded, even to sharing in the rights to the scanty food supplies when it was necessary to allot them. The "Colonial Records" and other collections of official documents attest this.

The difficulty in raising and maintaining the full quota for the army was due to the inability of Congress to produce the money wherewith to pay them or feed or clothe them. The advice of Congress that the states raise their funds not by credit but by taxes was not directed toward Connecticut which, as in this winter of 1778, voted \$600,000, laid a tax of two shillings and put it as a debit in the account with the United States. And in general it is to be noted that so well did Connecticut pay her way that she

was among the first to reap the benefits of reviving business after the war. While doing this she voted six battalions to be held for call and directed General Parsons to impress teams in the western territory to transport her provisions to the army wintering along the North River. Wages everywhere were not to exceed 75 per cent of what they had been in 1774. Transportation of privately owned goods was making such demands on oxen that it was necessary to restrict by license. The colonels for the six battalions raised were Thaddeus Cook, Samuel Mott, John Mead, Noadiah Hooker and Samuel McLellan.

WYOMING MASSACRE

The Susquehanna Company's colony in the Wyoming valley, developing courageously—several small settlements as a part of Litchfield County—had sent freely of its few men for the Connecticut quotas. The old men and women at home were able to forward good supplies of food to Washington's army, and in general their patriotic efforts had marked them for punishment when on June 30, 1778, the forest was filled by the Indians and rangers which had made Tory Colonel John Butler's name terrible. The 300 American men of the settlements were mostly too old for service but under the direction of Colonel Zebulon Butler, recently returned from service with the line, they decided that they must go forth in the defense of their women and children. Captains James Bidlock, William McKarrikan, Asaph Whittlesey, R. G. Gore, Samuel Ransom, Daniel Hewitt, Robert Durkee, Simon Spalding and Aholiab Buck, from the battle lines and from the home militia, gave their aid.

Late in the afternoon of July 3 they started out but only to be led on by the Indians till they were in ambus-

cade and, though the Americans stood firmly to their hopeless task, in short time the Indians had taken 225 scalps, including those of two field officers and seven captains. The left wing, under Lieutenant-Colonel George Dorrance, was immediately annihilated, Colonel Nathaniel Denison's men fell next, but of those under Colonel Zebulon Butler himself and Major John Garret a few managed to escape, the most of them to die under terrible torture as prisoners or to give their lives in the subsequent weeks during the efforts to rally enough men to check the devastation by the Indians and Tories throughout the valley. On July 4 the last of the ten "forts," filled only with women and children, surrendered and the occupants made their way back toward Connecticut through the wilderness while their homes behind them were burning. Colonel Zebulon Butler with Colonel John Jenkins and Captain Spalding's company and others undertook to continue the warfare throughout Westmoreland till the sacrifice of men proved too great. Though both houses of Parliament severely denounced this massacre, Lord Germain applauded and demanded more. All through England, the sentiment against the war was greatly increased.

Meantime, on July 2, 1778, the president and several members of Congress had reassembled in Philadelphia and the articles of confederation were being signed. On the eighth the French fleet under d'Estaing arrived and Washington purposed the capture of Rhode Island, the possession of which by the enemy was a particular cause of anxiety to the "Provision State." He called upon Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island to send two brigades or more to act with Sullivan, commanding the district, aided by Greene and Lafayette. Upon the approach of the fleet, July 29, the British destroyed ten of

their own ships and 212 guns. Before engagement could be joined, both fleets were scattered by a storm which also flooded the island. Lord Howe took refuge at Sandy Hook and d'Estaing at Boston. The Americans were the more depressed because the fleet was the first evidence they had had of the open alliance with France, and there was considerable sympathy with Sullivan's rebuke of d'Estaing, but the censure was withdrawn on the demand of Lafayette and Sullivan was ordered from the island. Instead of obeying he built useless fortifications but eventually escaped with his men. Clinton on the other hand, being reinforced, neglected his opportunity to jeopardize all New England. Lord Howe gave over his naval command to Lord Byron.

In the fall Washington, back again at White Plains, facing the enemy as he had at that same point two years before, but now with the British on the defensive, wrote: "In the series of marvellous occurrences during the present war, he must be blind who does not see the divine working thereof."

"Since the coming of Christ, war has not been conducted on such inhuman ideas," declared Burke and Buckingham themselves when the British commissioners delivered their final threat to Congress, and Clinton was able to do no more than to send out bands to burn and massacre, obeying with reluctance the order to abandon the plan to conquer the North and to turn his attention to the South. But England's chief hope was in America's financial ruin.

Winter found the army, somewhat better clothed, encamped in defensive position from Connecticut to the Delaware, with headquarters at Middlebrook. There were still thirteen states and thirteen armies with no sym-

bol of unity except as to the highest officers. Few officers could afford to remain in the service; to rank and file a bounty of \$200 besides land and clothing was offered as gratuity. Congress, which had had no actual power from the beginning, now only could appeal to the states to raise eighty battalions, and no state filled its quota. Washington said: "Never yet have I seen the time in which our affairs were at so low an ebb."

Putnam with three brigades wintered at what is now the State Memorial Park at Redding, to protect the magazines within the State and to be able to go to the Hudson highlands if needed. The condition of his troops was not unlike that of Washington's men at Valley Forge the preceding winter, and like them they had to construct rude huts as there was no tentage and to build their ovens. But for Putnam's personal magnetism, Huntington's brigade would have marched on the General Assembly to demand food or pay; but in spirit toward the enemy they were one with those other American troops who strung up as spies the emissaries of the British coming to win them over by promise of abundance such as the British were enjoying in New York.

On February 26, 1779, Tryon flaunted Putnam by sending 1,500 men to devastate New Rochelle. Captain Titus Hosmer of Hartford, commanding an outpost, detected them and got word to the general who was at Knapp's tavern. Assembling the nearest 150 men, Putnam nettled the greatly superior force till finally compelled to put spurs to his horse to escape. Directing his course toward Stamford to secure reinforcements he found himself closely pursued by dragoons. As they gained on him, he turned his horse down a hill at Horse-neck so steep that none dared follow — to paraphrase the

quotation used today as the motto of the Putnam Phalanx of Hartford which has preserved so many mementoes of him. The dragoons fired but he escaped with only a hole in his hat, which Tryon made good by sending him a new hat, for his name for thrilling exploits in this as in previous wars had spread appreciatively through the British as well as the American camps. He got the reinforcements and was sufficiently successful in his pursuit to regain considerable of the plunder, which he restored to the rightful owners.

NEW HAVEN AND FAIRFIELD RAIDS

New Haven was looking forward to an elaborate celebration of Independence Day on Monday, July 5, 1779, the 4th falling on Sunday. When alarm bells began ringing near daylight it was supposed to be according to the program, but word was spreading fast that a large fleet had anchored off the harbor. Though coast watchmen had followed the course of the fleet of forty-eight ships up the Sound, New Haven had had no special anxiety since there had been many false alarms previously when ships had sailed for Newport or New London. Connecticut had been well stripped of men for the Continental service; her militia were requested to devote all the hours they could to the raising of provisions and at the same time be ready to assemble at short notice at any particular point, in any of the specially designated districts. The harbor never had been considered of strategic importance to an enemy; possibly that is why no search of records reveals urgent request or plan for other fortification than the insignificant Rock Fort, with its three guns well down on the east shore, to be succeeded through later years by equally insignificant Fort Hale till all need of fortification appears

to have passed. But there was in 1779 a rude works on Beacon Hill farther back from the shore and northerly of Fort Rock, to be known as Fort Wooster.

By sunrise, President Ezra Stiles, of Yale, with his telescope, in a college tower, was telling of the landing of troops, and messengers were speeding in every direction. It was the fleet of Sir George Collier bearing 2,000 seamen and marines and 3,000 English and Hessians under Tryon. William and Thomas Chandler, formerly of New Haven, were with them to act as guides, and also Colonel William Fanning, who was once a student at Yale. Tryon was issuing a fulsome proclamation to the effect that none who showed loyalty to the king would be molested and that the fact that any houses were left standing was in itself significant. General George Garth with 1,500 men was the first to reach shore, on the West Haven side of the harbor. At the village green he halted for breakfast. By this time Captain James Hillhouse, commanding the New Haven company of the Governor's Foot Guard, had assembled a part of his men; the few Yale students in the city, under their own captain, George Welles, had joined him and also Aaron Burr who chanced to be visiting there, with such men as he could gather, while Lieutenant-Colonel Hezekiah Sabin with enough militia to bring the total force up to about 150 and Captain Phinehas Bradley with two small guns were directing the march of all toward the West Haven bridge over Mill River. Bradley took up his position at the bridge, Sabin and Hillhouse to go on toward the West Haven green to check the advance of ten times their number, if possible, by employing the tactics of Lexington. The Rev. Professor Eliphalet Daggett, who had preceded Ezra Styles as president of Yale, came riding by the sturdy column, mounted on

his black mare with his fowling piece across his saddle bow. The defenders took advantage of every ridge and cover from which they sent such well-aimed shots that Garth was compelled to halt the head of his column and assume more nearly a battle formation. Adjutant Campbell fell at that juncture, near Milford Hill. The Americans slowly worked back toward the bridge, all except Professor Daggett. He had selected a cluster of bushes which he held till ferreted out by two soldiers who rudely inquired his purpose. Gripping his overheated piece he replied that he was "exercising the rights of war," serene in his academic learning and his patriotism and wholly unconscious that as a private citizen he was violating the rules of warfare; like many another he had gone back to the primitiveness of defense of home. He was clubbed, bayoneted — fortunately not severely — stripped of his shoes and much of his clothing and compelled to walk as a prisoner the rest of the forenoon even to the city green where he was permitted to go into a nearby house, more dead than alive from treatment which was to result in his death some months later. The British found the bridge demolished and Bradley's guns such serious menace that they were forced to march along the river northward even to the Derby pike, before they could cross. A number of their men were killed by Aaron Burr's detachment which hung on their left flank. Again was their progress hotly contested for a time but, cover being poor, the Americans had to fall back. The horde poured down into the city from the west, halting occasionally to fire their cannon, as at the corner of York and Chapel Streets. Then they dispersed for pillaging.

The first of Tryon's own host landing on the east side of the harbor were met by shots from concealed men be-

lieved to have been directed by Captain Joseph Bradley and Captain Amos Morris whose beautiful mansion nearby was burned after the 1,500 of the enemy had formed their column. Stiles says one-third of the total population had armed and turned out and many of them were now occupying Fort Rock, and then, as that yielded, Beacon Hill where they tried to dig in. Altogether it was more of a resistance than Tryon had counted upon. The one gun at Beacon Hill was doing deadly execution. Retiring from there, the next defensive position the Americans took was the higher ground near East Haven. Tryon was ferried over to the city after sending a detachment forward to "neck" bridge over Mill River near East Rock. On the green he held council with Collier and Garth and listened to the plea of Garth and Fanning that the town be not burned. Orders in accordance were sent to the smaller ships which had come into the harbor to set the fires, and drunken soldiers who had found much liquor were brought under control. One of the cannon captured and many valuables were sent to the ships but only a few of the houses in the city proper, and these near the docks, were burned. The rapid approach of General Andrew Ward and men of the regiments of Moseley, Sage, Cook and others, with the assembling of still more, including Major Thomas Bull's dragoons, under the orders of Major-General Oliver Wolcott commanding the western section, Brigadier-General John Tyler commanding the eastern section and Brigadier-General Selah Heart commanding with Ward in the vicinity of New Haven, doubtless influenced Tryon in his decision to re-embark before daylight. A detachment lingering east of the harbor were harassed by citizens and students till their embarkation Tuesday afternoon.

After scattering along the Sound valuable papers taken from New Haven houses, some of them relating to the college. Tryon and his forces landed at Fairfield the morning of July 7, and there and at Green's Farms nearby, Germans and Britons vied with each other in pillaging and burning 218 buildings. Such militiamen as could be assembled at a moment's notice by Lieutenant Isaac Jarvis were absurdly insufficient. Garth and Tryon himself, according to the affidavits to the Legislature, at one or two houses gave written instructions that nothing should be disturbed, but before noon of the following day, practically all the buildings, including the churches, had been destroyed and the inhabitants subjected to such treatment that the affidavits read much like those of the Belgians in the path of the Germans in the World War of 1914.

On July 11, Norwalk was selected for destruction. Captain Stephen Betts of Butler's Continental regiment, with fifty regulars and a few of the militia were quickly driven back, and General Parsons with a force of regulars, dispatched by Washington from the Hudson, arrived too late to prevent the burning of many buildings and the pillaging of all, with such scenes as those in Fairfield. In money value, the damage done here amounted to £26,606, and in Fairfield to £23,893, making the total damage, as ascertained by the Legislature in 1791, in New Haven, Danbury, Greenwich, New London, West Haven, East Haven, Ridgefield, Norwalk and Fairfield by reason of these and similar incursions £251,606, for which the sufferers were allowed grants of land in the State's 500,000 acres in the Western Reserve in Ohio.

It was on July 16 that Meigs and his Connecticut contingents as previously cited, under General Anthony

Wayne, made the bold assault upon the supposedly impregnable fortification at Stony Point on the Hudson and captured 500 men and a large amount of munitions. Connecticut men also participated with Major Benjamin Tallmadge of Wethersfield (Sheldon's Dragoons) in the descent upon Lloyd's Neck on Long Island whence raids frequently had been made on the Connecticut shore. Embarking at Stamford at midnight, September 5, 130 well chosen men surprised the stronghold and before morning were back in Connecticut with all the garrison as prisoners, nearly 500 in all.

Subsequently believing his opportunity was at hand, Washington called upon Connecticut for 12,000 militia as its share for an attack upon New York but finding himself not supported he abandoned the plan. The Connecticut troops that had responded returned home and the army went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. General Putnam had gone to his home in Pomfret for a much needed rest and in December was returning when he fell sick in Hartford and was taken back to his home, incapacitated for further service. He lingered on till May 19, 1790.

The year 1780 was full of vicissitudes. In August, 1779, with faith bolstered up, America had issued her ultimatum as to peace which was that she should retain full possession of all territory held by the Colonies. In February, 1780, John Adams was sent to Paris as sole negotiator of a treaty of peace and of commerce. In March the House of Commons abolished the Board of Trade and Plantations, which was a virtual acknowledgment that America was lost. Followed then the British victories in the South, succeeding the earlier advantages gained and accompanied by greater barbarities than even

Germain could have conceived of; the utter rout of the glamorous Gates who had won the affections of Congress as against Washington; the earnest support then given the king by Parliament in the autumn; the cry for peace by France because of the burdensome expenses; the plaint of Spain that she had not benefited from the French alliance, and withal the maritime greed of England and insolence toward Holland, — leaving it finally up to the tenaciousness of the American people, the persuasiveness of their leaders, especially with the French, and the growing disgust of the English people to bring the unnatural conflict to a close. The will of the common people of both America and the mother country was about to prevail. But there were to be many gropings.

As one result of the persuasiveness, Rochambeau with 6,000 French troops reached Newport on July 10. Clinton started with 8,000 to save Rhode Island but went no farther than Huntington Bay. Gates's star having lost somewhat of its luminosity and the southern situation beginning to take on a different aspect for both sides, Washington came to Hartford for a conference with Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, September 18, accompanied by Lafayette and Alexander Hamilton. Benedict Arnold accompanied them as far as Peekskill. The Frenchmen in their letters told how deeply Washington impressed them. On the journey back to the Hudson, Washington was to hear of the treachery of Arnold.

ARNOLD'S TREACHERY

As has been noted there had been several affronts to Arnold's pride since the day of the Lexington alarm. When he finally received his appointment as major-general after the fight near Danbury, in 1777, he

threatened to resign because he was not given his relative rank. It was by Washington's request that Congress sent him to assist Gates in the campaign against Burgoyne, after which his rank was restored and he was given command at Philadelphia. His private fortune had been exhausted, largely through his expenditures in the cause of America. He married the daughter of a well-to-do Tory whose friends made much of him in Philadelphia, discussing the serious situation of the Continentals, the suffering of the troops, the desertion of many of them, the inability of Congress and the despair of sundry of the leaders. Again he expressed desire to resign. Meantime rumor had been busy with him, and the local magistrates preferred charges which, however, were not sustained by Congress. New charges were preferred and the committee of investigation suggested a court martial, which was held. Arnold was acquitted but with recommendation that Washington reprimand him. Washington complied and then offered him the highest position in the army under him, but Arnold declined, asking instead that he be given command at West Point, the strongest post in the country. It is presumed that at that time he was plotting with Clinton. Whether or no, it was not long after he had obtained this high honor from Washington that he laid the plan for an attack by Clinton at a time when Washington would likely be there, and Clinton should capture the post and the general, for many reasons a blow presumably fatal to the cause he himself had done so much to promote. Clinton embarked his troops in the vessels of Sir George Rodney who recently had touched in at New York in his adventurous career. Major André, adjutant general of the army, went up the river

to the Vulture near West Point to await Arnold's summons for a conference, which came on September 22.

The messengers took Andrè ashore, in his full uniform, where he met Arnold in the bushes and together they rode in the early morning to the farmhouse of one Joshua H. Smith. The negotiations lasted several hours and closed with the agreement that Arnold should be rewarded financially and with the rank of brigadier-general in his majesty's forces. Late in the afternoon, Arnold returned to his post while Andrè, in disguise and accompanied by Smith, started for New York by land. Crossing the Hudson and resting that night near Crompond, Andrè dropped Smith the next forenoon and pushed on in such confidence that he thought to shorten the route indicated by Smith by cutting across the hills to the Albany pike above Tarrytown. There he was met and searched by John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac VanWart, men engaged independently in preventing the passing of food through the lines to New York. The officer to whom they turned him over informed Arnold.

A board of eminent officers, including Parsons and Huntington of Connecticut, Lafayette, Greene and Steuben, found him guilty unanimously. Arnold himself, who had reached the British camp and had received £6,350 and his commission, sent a threatening letter and Clinton protested because of the flag of truce Arnold had sent to the Vulture for Andrè. To this latter Washington replied that Andrè was on business very foreign to a flag of truce. At Clinton's request, however, execution was postponed till October 2. Arnold was sent South to ravage Virginia, did much damage at Richmond and narrowly escaped capture by Washington, after which he was ordered back to New York and, despised by the British

officers, was to be heard from only once more, and that was when he carried destruction almost to his very birth-place, Norwich, on September 6, 1781.

At New London, Fort Griswold on the Groton side of the river was the strongest fortification in the State. On the New London side was Fort Trumbull which had not been well kept up. Lieutenant-Colonel William Ledyard of New London commanded both, chiefly with militiamen of that vicinity, whose rosters are remarkable (and significant) because of the number of elderly and very youthful members of the same families. Captain Adam Shapley was stationed at Fort Trumbull. At daylight of the 6th he saw the British fleet off the east shore and fired the signal of alarm, two guns, but the British added a third shot which meant the bringing in of a prize, and accordingly the surrounding towns were slow in responding even after messengers were sent out. Ordering Shapley to spike his guns and take his men to Fort Griswold, Ledyard crossed over from New London. Arnold with 900 men landed on the west or New London side of the harbor and while one detail took Fort Trumbull the other pressed on and set fire to the shipping and the business part of the town. With his glasses Arnold could see that Griswold was stronger than he had thought whereupon he sent word to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, in command of the 800 who had landed on that side, to withhold the assault, but it was too late.

Eyre on the right and Major Montgomery on the left had approached over the rough land and had demanded surrender. Ledyard had about 160 officers and men and had reason to presume that the regiments of Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Latimer and Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Gallup would assemble and support him. Gallup

was in the fort when Ledyard gave his curt refusal to Eyre's officer. The alarm not having spread, none of the militia of the county responded. Though staggered by the close-range volleys of the Americans, the British got over the redoubt and moat on the west side and finally over the high rampart, only to be met by an array of spears which so unnerved them that Montgomery had difficulty in rallying them. As he fell mortally wounded, his men rushed on with fury. Eyre also had fallen but by this time the gate had been broken down and the enclosure was swarming with maddened soldiery, the number soon increased by the breaking-down of the south gate.

Ledyard signaled for surrender but Shapley's men, at the southwest corner, not knowing this, continued to fire and, with the rest, were mowed down by the guns of the north bastion which the enemy trained upon them. To Major Bromfield's demand for the commandant, Ledyard responded and with the bow of a chevalier extended the hilt of his sword toward him. Instantly, whether by Bromfield or other—all denied it—a sword was thrust through Ledyard's body from left to right just below the armpits, and he fell dead. Outraged by this act, his men rallied around his body and fought hand to hand till a British officer cried out to stop the carnage. Within the fort there were eighty-five dead and most of the others wounded. With intent to blow up the magazine, the British loaded the wounded into an ammunition wagon to take them to the shore, but the hill was so steep that they lost control of the wagon and it went down with fearful momentum till it struck a tree where the mangled men were left to die without attention of any sort. Major Peters extinguished the fuse that led to the magazine and

saved the fort. Arnold and his men re-embarked at sunset after burning the village of Groton.

The officers killed were Lieutenant-Colonel Ledyard, Captains Elijah and Elisha Avery, Lieutenant Ebenezer Avery, Captains Samuel and Simeon Allyn and Captain Hubbard Barrows all of Groton; Lieutenants Richard Chapman and James Comstock of New London; Captain Elias H. Henry of Long Island, Captains Youngs Ledyard and Cary Luds and Lieutenant Joseph Lewis of Groton.

Arnold went to England and for a time was engaged in maritime business, leading a lonesome life till his death in London in 1801. Shortly before his death he put on his Continental uniform and asked God to forgive him for ever having worn any other.

CONFERENCE AT WETHERSFIELD

The second conference of Washington with the French commanders had been held in Wethersfield on May 21 of this year, after the French government had declined to furnish means to besiege New York. The moment was one of utmost tenseness. The three-years' term of enlistment for a large part of the army had expired, but the marked loyalty of the twenty New England regiments of the line, nearly half of which were from Connecticut, caused Lafayette to write to his wife: "Human patience has its limits. No European army would suffer the tenth part of what American troops suffer. It takes patience to support hunger, nakedness, toil and total want of pay, which constitute the condition of our soldiers, the hardest and most patient to be found in the world." Congress could only appeal; the states alone had the authority to secure replacement troops.

This conference in Wethersfield marked the turning point of the war. Clinton was well entrenched at New York. Cornwallis, assisted by a considerable fleet, was ravaging the South. The French fleet, with good equipment and some 4,000 soldiers, was hemmed in by a British fleet at Newport; indeed, such was the immediate situation there that Count de Barras, in command of the French fleet, could not be present at Wethersfield. Washington, General Knox and General du Portail arrived in the town with their suites, Saturday, May 19, escorted by leading citizens of Hartford and welcomed by a salvo of guns in charge of Captain Frederick Bull. On Sunday all went to church; Governor Trumbull who had joined them that day says in his diary: "Attended divine service *per tot diem*"—and Washington declined having the hours of service changed to accommodate him. On Monday Rochambeau and Chestelleux with their suites arrived at noon, coming through East Hartford. They were met in Hartford by Washington, with ceremonies as elaborate as the towns in the vicinity could furnish. In Wethersfield the conference was held at the well known Webb residence, then owned by Joseph Webb and his brother Colonel S. B. Webb, who had been closely associated with Washington before the Connecticut line was established. By notable coincidence the house—now in the care of the Daughters of the American Revolution—was next north of the equally well known residence of Silas Deane in which the plan for the capture of Ticonderoga was worked up. After the weighty discussion of the day, the generals attended a concert by the choir in the church.

Rochambeau favored a campaign in the South; Washington presented information he had obtained that the

English government was desirous of having Clinton strengthen Cornwallis, and to prevent that he would make a demonstration against Clinton and then be governed by the results, in some way not then foreseeable. The great benefit of the conference was the absolute harmony established. The French troops were started at once from Newport to co-operate with the American army, and their progress through Connecticut was like the march of an already victorious army. At every camping place they were afforded all the refreshment and entertainment the countryside could supply. Meantime Washington addressed letters to the Governors of the New England States, urging them to fill up their battalions, for this campaign at least if not for three years, and each to hold a body of militia in readiness to march on a week's notice, subsistence and transportation carefully provided for. And in conclusion he begged Connecticut and Massachusetts for "a loan of powder." In his diary he set down that in his conference with Governor Trumbull the Governor assured him that the men could be obtained if any important offensive operation were to be undertaken, and that in this statement Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, who was acting commissary for the French forces, concurred. In other words, it was one of those many occasions when Washington leaned heavily upon "Brother Jonathan" and was encouraged. Such responsiveness together with the fact that Congress at last had given him supreme power over both the northern and southern armies inspired the great leader for his brilliant and final campaign.

As calculated, Clinton called for aid, Washington slipped by him, deGrasse brought his fleet from the South to the Chesapeake, Cornwallis and Clinton disagreed, the

former was led into rashness, Americans and French worked as one in closing in the mesh, and the surrender at Yorktown, October 18, 1781, with the subsequent "cleaning up" and the evacuation of New York and finally the success of the long-drawn-out but equally skilful negotiations for peace were inevitable. Upon Colonel David Humphreys of Derby, formerly brigade major under Putnam, aid to General Greene, aid and military secretary to Washington and with separate command at Yorktown, was conferred the honor of presenting to Congress the standards captured with Cornwallis. Withal Humphreys throughout the war was nominally captain of a company of colored troops which he raised and which was attached to Colonel Meigs's regiment.

In the Third Light Infantry Corps which Lafayette employed through that last summer to harass Cornwallis in Virginia there were five companies from the Connecticut line. For the regiment of Colonel Scammel of New Haven, Connecticut furnished the second in command, Ebenezer Huntington of Norwich, and three of its eight companies. In Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton's battalion of four companies, two were from Connecticut. All were under Lafayette on the right wing at Yorktown. Altogether the Connecticut line was drawn upon for ten of his thirty-six companies. Other officers were Major John P. Wyllys of Hartford and Captains Jonathan Heart of Farmington, John St. John of Ridgefield, Elijah Chapman of Tolland, Roger Welles of Wethersfield, Samuel A. Barker of Branford and Richard Douglass of New London. In Hamilton's command were Captain Lemuel Clift of Plainfield and Thaddeus Weed of Stratford.

Trumbull knew the quality of Connecticut men when

he gave Washington his assurance on that last great occasion as on all previous ones from July, 1776, down through the five long years. With pay in worthless paper or in nothing at all, half starved and half naked, they freely abandoned all sources of income at home and gave one term of enlistment after another, thereby setting an example in patriotism for all future generations. When a small group of them, at the limit of their suffering in winter camp, organized to demand from the exhausted treasury the pay they long ago should have received, they were brought back to their place in shame by the words of their commander and associates. And when in the last days the federal government, appreciative but without other resource, paid in "claims" which long were to be without value and then were to be bought up by speculators who were watching the trend of Hamilton's legislative plan, the Connecticut men turned quietly to the occupations which their hard-won peace afforded them and proved their power as builders as they had proved it as soldiers.

The Connecticut line from 1781 to 1783, with Parsons as major-general and Jedediah Huntington as brigadier, was composed of the regiments of Durkee, Swift, S. B. Webb, Butler and of Isaac Sherman of New Haven. Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., was secretary to Washington in the Yorktown campaign. From January to June, 1783, as mustering-out continued, the brigade was reduced to three regiments, Butler's, Swift's and S. B. Webb's. Webb was made brigadier-general in September. From June to December, Swift commanded the consolidation of the remaining companies, doing duty at West Point and vicinity. The company of Captain Elisha Hopkins of Hartford was part of the battalion

which led the American troops on the evacuation of New York, November 25, 1783.

- In general orders in 1782 Washington cited the Connecticut brigades as "composed of as fine a body of men as any in the army," and he called for a review, after which he gave the highest honor to the Second Connecticut brigade, the only command which ever won such praise from him.

In the navy, the leading vessels were: For the State, brig *Minerva*, Captain Giles Hall of Wallingford; sloop *Spy*, Captain Robert Niles of Norwich; brig *Defense*, Captain Seth Harding, Captain Samuel Smedley; galleys, Captains John McCleave and Jehiel Tinker; Lake Champlain galley *Trumbull*, Captain Seth Warner of East Haddam; man-of-war *Oliver Cromwell*, Captains William Coit of New London, Seth Harding and Timothy Parker of Norwich, Continental—Frigate *Trumbull*, Captain Dudley Saltonstall; frigate *Confederacy*, Captain Seth Harding. Privateer *Lafayette*, Commander Elisha Hinman, and in addition to this there were a great number of privateers.

The rolls of the Continental army bore 3,929,827 names. Of these 31,959 were credited to Connecticut, not including those who enlisted in New York and other states. This is 14 per cent of the total, a larger ratio than for any other state. In actual numbers Massachusetts sent more men, but allowing for greater number of nine-months' men, who were counted each time, as compared with three-years' men, the contention would seem to be well founded that Connecticut furnished more men than any other state, though seven of them had a larger population. The population of all the states in 1790 was 3,929,827 and of Connecticut 238,141. Connecticut expended

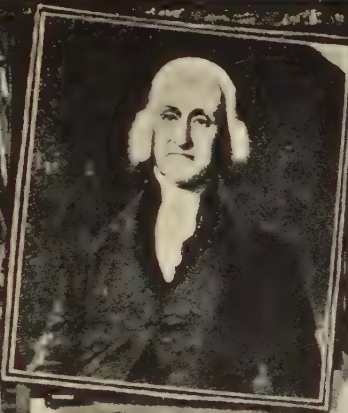
\$20,199,531, of which the general government paid back in the course of time \$2,445,679, leaving a balance of \$17,753,852. This does not include money paid out by towns and individuals for war purposes.

THE WAR OF 1812

War never was less expected than that which came in 1812—above all, war with one of the Great Powers and that power the old “Mother Country.” To be sure, the terms of peace after the Revolution, especially as to north-western territory and as to maritime rights, so rankled in the minds of the less discerning as to lead them to rioting. French affronts after the Revolution of 1793 had had a disquieting, or rather dividing effect, and finally England’s “orders in council” or declaration of maritime high-handedness had stirred deep resentment. President Jefferson’s boomerang embargo, destructive to New England commerce and thereby reacting most unexpectedly upon its promoters in the agricultural South, had sown seeds of bitter sectionalism, and the northern hope inspired by the election of the Federalist Madison, at heart a timorous pacifist, had been followed by despair.

But no one had thought of maintaining even ordinary military preparedness. Following what seems to be the rule of free people, they permitted themselves to be conscious only of what they understood to be the sentiments of people of either France or England, with supreme contempt for the manifestations of men in high places. Nor had Congress, impelled by the southern vote, any idea of what preparedness or lack thereof implied, when in June, 1812, it declared war.

The first historic victim of the war was a Connecticut man, ever since until recent years exorcised through the



**Jonathan
Trumbull**
~ Lebanon ~

"BROTHER JONATHAN"
FRIEND AND ADVISER
OF GENERAL WASHINGTON

Governor

1769 - 1784

Born in Lebanon Oct. 12, 1710

Died August 17, 1785

Jon. Trumbull

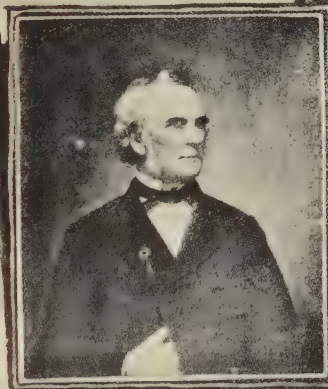
**William Alfred
Buckingham**
~ Norwich ~

FRIEND AND ADVISER
OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

Governor 1858-1866

Born in Lebanon May 28, 1804

Died February 5, 1875



W. A. Buckingham

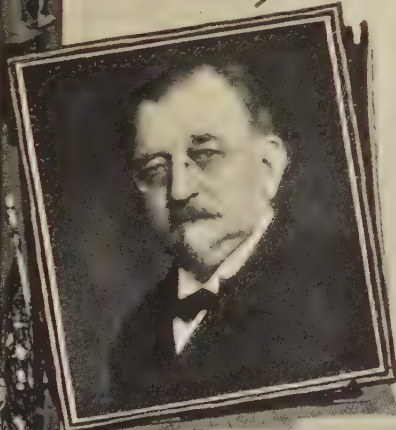
**Marcus Hensley
Holcomb**
~ Southington ~

Our Present

War Governor

of
International
Distinction

Born in New Hart-
ford, Nov. 28, 1844



Marcus Hensley Holcomb



THE THREE GREAT WAR GOVERNORS
OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT

pages of history. William Hull was a native of Derby, a graduate of Yale, 1772, and member of the bar, 1775. He was a colonel in the Continental army, highly esteemed by Washington, and at this time was Governor of Michigan territory. Congress had made the inefficient Henry Dearborn, one-time deputy quartermaster-general for Washington and secretary of war under Jefferson, commander-in-chief of the army of the North, with Hull in command of a small body of regulars and militia as the army of the Northwest which was directed to win over or conquer Canada. Naturally expecting support from Dearborn, Hull did the best he could, only to bring down upon himself the redoubtable and undeterred General Brock, Canada's idol, with a large force including some of the most bloodthirsty Indians still east of the Mississippi River. Hull's necessarily feeble advance had to be followed by a discreet retreat into Fort Detroit and then by a tame surrender if he would not sacrifice the lives of his handful of still unsupported men for whom the redskins were waiting with torches and sharpened knives. Dearborn himself, who the following year was to be relieved of command because of his political intriguing, was president of the court which tried him and sentenced him to be shot. Congress commuted the sentence to having his name stricken from the army roll.

No matter what the sentiment of the states, Congress and Madison appeared to expect to raise troops by calling for the militia. From New England the Constitution was read to them, with particular attention to the power of Congress "*to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions*" and "*to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution*" this

power. The militia further were to be placed under such officers as Congress should name, beginning with Dearborn, whereas the Constitution says: "Reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers." With his coast lying open to British attack, Governor Roger Griswold had double reason to quote the Constitution and refused to allow the militia to go out of the State under other officers than its own. A special session of the Legislature in August upheld him and passed resolutions condemning the administration for declaring war, especially in selecting England as the foe instead of France whose seizure of vessels had been fully as exasperating; and alluding to the folly of our going into such a war with our long coast line to defend and no funds or material for that purpose.

Nevertheless, the Legislature would observe all constitutional obligations and therefore it ordered 3,000 muskets with cartouches, eight field pieces, 600 pounds of powder and five tons of bullets. Two regiments of infantry, four companies of cavalry and four of artillery were ordered "for defense of the State, to enforce the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection and to repel invasion during the present war; subject only to the commander-in-chief of the State." On Griswold's death, John Cotton Smith, his successor, carried out these principles. In the presidential election following, Connecticut joined with the wing of the party opposed to Madison's war policy and supported Clinton.

So long as England was absorbed in the Napoleonic wars and could spare only a small force for the protection of Canada, Connecticut territory suffered little. Sir Thomas Hardy's fleet was blockading the coast. With the beginning of Napoleon's downfall in 1814, the English

devoted more attention toward the coast territory, making raids like that in which they burned the government buildings in Washington. In June, 1814, Commodore Decatur's little squadron was driven in at New London, but when the British found some 6,000 militiamen, under General William, well prepared for them they contented themselves with bottling up the harbor and Decatur's men went to New York by land. A good body of militia was kept in that vicinity for a considerable time. On April 7, sailors and marines destroyed \$200,000 worth of shipping and other property at Essex.

When the president called for troops in 1814 to be held in readiness, Connecticut raised her quota of 3,720 men and stationed them at danger points within the State. A few of these were at Stonington on August 9, when two frigates, a bombship and a brig appeared with orders from Hardy to remove all inhabitants and belongings as he was about to burn the place. Instead of complying, the villagers manned the little fort at the point, the militiamen took positions behind low breastworks and word was sent to General Cushing at New London. Cushing considered it a ruse with intent to attack Fort Griswold and therefore sent but one regiment, under General Isham. Hardy's bombardment through the evening did small damage. Early next morning, barges were sent to throw rockets into the town. Captain Jeremiah Holmes had arrived with volunteers from Mystic, and under his skilful handling of the two small guns, one of the barges was sunk and the others were compelled to retire. The next morning the British renewed their attempt. While part of the men extinguished the fires, the others handled the guns as long as the powder lasted. To the suggestion of retiring from the position, Holmes replied with emphasis, nailed the flag

to its staff and, with powder sent from New London, kept the enemy at a distance till the arrival of the militia. Hardy sent word that he would withdraw if the wife of the British consul at New London were brought to his ship and a pledge was given not to use torpedoes. The tired defenders made patriotic reply and the bombardment was renewed and continued till the next day, when the ships withdrew to their old anchorage off New London. Although much damage was done, no one was killed.

One surprise of the war was the development of the United States navy. Among the bright stars was Captain Israel Chauncey, a native of Black Rock, who was commander of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Captain Isaac Hull of Derby, nephew of General William Hull, astounded England with his victory over the staunch *Guerrière*, received a gold medal from Congress and \$50,000 for his crew and caused the "London Times" to say: "It is not merely that an English frigate has been taken (sunk) but that it has been taken by a new enemy—an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered insolent and confident by them." Commodore Macdonough, whom Middletown claims, was commander of the squadron on Lake Champlain and he also won a gold medal from Congress and promotion for his wonderful victory over the British off Plattsburgh, September 11, 1814.

The 3,000 militiamen who did service for short periods were drawn mostly from the First Division, Major-General Solomon Cowles commanding, the brigade commanders being Charles Jencks (succeeded by Moses Tryon) and Levi Lusk. For the regular army the State furnished 156 officers and 160 men. Colonel James Ward of Hartford was commissary general of the army. Peter

B. Porter of Salisbury was a major-general; he declined the position of commander-in-chief of the army in 1815.

The Hartford Convention of delegates from the New England States late in 1814 was more political than military in its nature, being for the purpose of combining to secure better defense of the states represented than the general government, after bringing on the war, seemed able to afford. It did not reassemble in 1815 as voted because the treaty of Ghent was signed December 24. The drumming-up of recruits for a federal regiment around the doors of the convention, which some plotters may have thought would force a political issue and which the Governor's Foot Guard stood ready to keep well in hand, resulted only in a little street-corner hooting, with considerable criticism of the methods of the government's recruiting officer.

THE MEXICAN WAR

The sentiment of Connecticut people relative to the Mexican War was expressed in resolutions adopted by the Legislature at its May session, in 1847, declaring that the action of President Tyler in sending troops into Mexican territory was unconstitutional and it might result in the acquisition of territory from which the Legislature believed slavery should be barred. Resolutions from other Northern states were commended and for those from Virginia and other Southern states there was rebuke. That year marked a change in the militia system. There were 53,191 militiamen in 960 companies, six brigades—the culmination of what was known as the "Flood Wood" period. Training had degenerated into a farce. By the new legislation, two classes were established, the active and the inactive or enrolled militia, between the ages of 18 and 35 (later 45), to be organized in one division, two

brigades of four regiments each, soldiers to be paid \$1.50 a day for each of at least three days' training a year, and the enrolled militia to pay \$1 (later \$2) a year for exemption. All uniformed and most un-uniformed companies were disbanded.

Since the government called for volunteers at large, the question of militia and federal service was not raised. A total of about 700 men enlisted, most of them in the Ninth or New England Infantry, and a few received commissions. Officers already in the army won distinction, like J. K. F. Mansfield, John Sedgwick, Horatio G. Wright, Henry W. Benham and Nathaniel Lyon. Thomas H. Seymour, who had been captain of the Hartford Light Guard, was a major in the Ninth and made a record for himself at Melino. He was Governor from 1850 to 1853, resigning then to become minister to Russia, and still later, in the Civil War, was the leader of the "peace" democracy. Major Julius J. Backus Kingsbury of Waterbury received brevet for bravery in this war.

THE CIVIL WAR

In the years immediately preceding the sound of cannon in Charleston harbor, the hum of industry and the song of trade in Connecticut as in other states had drowned the note of warning. The serious incidents in Kansas and Virginia in which John Brown, a native of Torrington, figured conspicuously and gave his name to the most familiar marching song in the war to come, were passing "thrillers." In Connecticut there were not enough militia companies to form promptly even the one regiment Lincoln first called for. And altogether (but during the war only), the fact was stressed that the price of neglect, in lives and money, was incalculable. Governor William A.

Buckingham, who early gave evidence of the characteristics of Jonathan Trumbull, in his proclamation January 17, had reviewed the situation and had emphasized that "when reason gives way to passion and order yields to anarchy, the civil power must fall back upon the military arm of national defense," adding that the active services of the military might soon be required; hence all companies should fill their ranks and drill. With this he himself, the Legislature not being in session, ordered arms for 5,000 men.

Nor was this trumpet blast much heeded. It was three months before the first call came. And there was to be illustration of the rule that it is the men of the best character who respond to the first summons and go forth for the sacrifice. Lincoln's call for 75,000 men for three months—according to the limit of term of service for militia for putting down insurrection—made April 15 "Battle Sunday." Sermons, prayers, street-corner meetings, gave vocal response, and at a meeting in Winsted Samuel B. Horne's name led a list of volunteers. In the editorial rooms of the "Hartford Press," Joseph R. Hawley, the editor, Albert W. Drake of Windsor and Joseph Perkins—the first to become a major-general by brevet and the other two colonels, of the Tenth and of a United States colored regiment respectively—started the roll of Company A which was to be complete before Monday's sunset. And thus in towns large and small.

The Governor had no authority to answer the requisition for a regiment but he acted on his own responsibility, relying safely on the Legislature to indemnify him, and four days after the call this Company A and the whole First Regiment were in rendezvous in New Haven, utilizing the college and other buildings for quarters. Within six

days the Second was with the First, within two weeks the Third was in Hartford; fifty-four companies had tendered their services, or five times the quota, and keen was the disappointment among those who were an hour too late. One company recruited in the Governor's own house in Norwich was among these. The West Meriden militia company was the first accepted by the Governor; Hawley's with Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Burnham of the First Militia as captain, the first full company. When ranks were full men offered as high as \$50 for a place in them. As for their equipment, Buckingham went to his home bank and pledged his whole fortune and before noon received telegrams from banks, towns and individuals proffering over a million dollars. Women everywhere were busy making uniforms, shirts—all necessary articles and some unnecessary, from cloth cut by tailors gratuitously.

These swarming volunteers, so suggestive of the men who responded to the Lexington alarm, were unlike them in some important particulars; they had not shot game in the forests, they had practically no knowledge of fire-arms, their pedestrianism was limited, they did not know how to "travel light," they were unaccustomed to privations. Had the marksmanship of Bunker Hill been repeated at Bull Run, the casualties would have been more in character with the fierceness of the combat.

Buckingham personally arranged that the secretary of war should accept two more regiments (state units and officers to be recognized) on condition that they would agree to serve for three years, and even then twenty-four companies had to be disbanded, part of their members (2,000) to get their chance when on May 3, the government issued a call for an increase of the regular army by



GENERAL ALFRED HOWE TERRY.

A Native of Hartford. Clerk of Superior Court, 1854-1860. His Civil War Record Unsurpassed by Any Connecticut Officer. Brevetted and Thanked by Congress for Gallantry and Skill in Capturing Fort Fisher. Retired from the Service, 1888.

2,268 and for 18,000 seamen. Colonel Alfred H. Terry of New Haven, who was to become one of the country's idols, as in position of colonel of the Second Militia he had become the idol of Connecticut's soldiery, had brought together the companies for the Second Regiment of volunteers, the companies like those of the First being from various parts of the State but more militia companies than in the First. Captain Daniel Tyler of Norwich, the only professional soldier of the first three regiments, was made colonel of the First. As the command was leaving the State he was appointed brigadier-general commanding the Connecticut militia and, immediately upon arrival of his regiment in Washington, by request of General Scott was made brigadier-general of volunteers. He was succeeded in the regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel Burnham. Terry was appointed colonel of the Second and John Arnold of New Haven colonel of the Third. When Scott saw the First on its arrival in Washington, he exclaimed: "Thank God for one regiment fully equipped!" It had camp equipage, transportation, 50,000 rounds of ammunition and rations for twenty days. It was closely followed by the Second and Third, of like merit. They were assigned to the First Division, General McDowell, with Keyes as their brigade commander.

A Connecticut man, General J. K. F. Mansfield, of Mexican War fame, was the regular army officer in charge of the fortifications around Washington. Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth of Ellsworth's Zouaves, who was shot May 24 while taking down the Confederate flag floating over a hotel in Alexandria, was the grandson of John Ellsworth of Hartford. He was succeeded by Noah L. Farnham, a native of Haddam. Major Theodore Winthrop of the New York Seventh, Yale '48, the eminent

scholar and traveller who was killed at Big Bethel, June 9, was a direct descendant of Governor Winthrop.

At its May session, the Legislature enacted measures so efficient that they continued with little change throughout the four years. The individual towns, true to tradition, had been managing all proceedings and cheerfully assuming financial burden. The Legislature established \$30 a month for each enlisted man and for the wives \$6 a month with \$2 a month for each child to be paid through the term of enlistment whether soldier lived or died. On suggestion of the Governor it was ordered that 10,000 men should go into training to be ready for another call.

Again the war was brought close home when Captain James H. Ward, son of Colonel James Ward of Hartford (commissary-general of the army in 1812), and himself commander of the Potomac River flotilla, was killed at Acquia Creek June 27.

The Connecticut troops at Falls Church, Virginia, had been for several days three miles nearer Richmond than any other Union troops when McDowell pushed them toward Bull Run, July 16, and on the eighteenth Tyler skirmished with Longstreet's men at Blackburn's Ford. Tyler's advice was to push on but the army was not ready. Before the battle of Bull Run began, July 21, Johnston's 18,000 had strengthened the enemy's lines, and "friends" in Washington were furnishing him details of the plans for McDowell's division. In the battle Connecticut troops were among those who supposed their courage had prevailed till they were ordered to fall back and then were to see the main body in disorderly flight. Each of the three regiments was commended in orders for preserving formation and retiring in good order. On the way to Washington, they not only were efficient in protecting the

rear but they saved their own camp equipage and also that of two other regiments, and in addition brought in two abandoned field pieces and a few prisoners.

THE REGIMENTS

Of the Connecticut men who displayed their grit and firmness at Bull Run, nearly every one re-enlisted on the call for three-years men, and over 500 of them were to become commissioned officers. Within a month six new regiments were being enrolled. In thirteen days a squadron of cavalry was formed by Major William H. Mallory of Bridgeport, under the call for six cavalry regiments at large, this squadron to be a part of the Second New York Cavalry. It was stipulated that the enrolment should count on Connecticut's quota and squadron officers be named by Connecticut—a stipulation which finally was overlooked. But in addition the State was to have its own cavalry regiment, the First, organized as a battalion under Major Judson W. Lyon, at camp in Meriden, in September, 1861, becoming a regiment with William S. Fish of Stonington in command, fighting bushwhackers in West Virginia the next March, and at the close of a glorious career with Sheridan, in Wilson's and later in Custer's brigade, escorting Grant to receive Lee's surrender. Its casualties were 772 or over 56 per cent, and it won three of the twelve congressional medals that came to Connecticut. Colonel Erastus Blakeslee of Plymouth and Colonel Brayton Ives of New Haven, in order the successors of Colonel Fish, were breveted brigadier-generals. Also in the camp at Meriden was organized the First Light Battery, Captain Alfred P. Rockwell of Meriden, who was to be succeeded by James B. Clinton of New Haven when

Rockwell became colonel of the Sixth Infantry, in June 1864.

And in Bridgeport in August was organized the Second Light Battery whose successive commanders were to be John W. Sterling and Walter S. Hotchkiss of that city. A third such battery was organized in the summer of 1864, composed mostly of veterans from all the commands with Thomas S. Gilbert of Derby as captain. Additional artillery to bring great credit upon the State during the war was furnished in the First and Second Artillery. The First was made up of those who had striven to get into the service as the Fourth Infantry but found the door closed at that time. Under the call in May for 75,000 three-years' men it responded promptly and was changed to artillery, in January 1862. Its first colonel, Levi Woodhouse of Hartford, a regular army officer in the Mexican War, incapacitated by sickness, was succeeded by Robert O. Tyler of Hartford, and he in turn, after being appointed brigadier-general, in November 1862 (major-general in 1865), was succeeded by Henry L. Abbott who won brevet major-general, in March 1865. The Second "Heavies" was originally the Nineteenth Infantry with Leverett W. Wessells of Litchfield as colonel. It was changed to artillery, in November 1863. Colonel Elisha S. Kellogg of Derby, who succeeded Colonel Wessells, was killed at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864, and the subsequent commanders were Ronald S. Mackenzie (U. S. A.) who was made brigadier-general in October 1864 (brevet major-general, March 1865), and James Hubbard of Salisbury who became brigadier, in April, 1865.

The Fifth Infantry, also composed largely of companies shut out under the first call, were three-years' men organized in Hartford, in May 1861. Colonel Samuel

Colt of Hartford, inventor of the revolver, had planned to have the regiment equipped with his revolving rifle and enrolled as regulars, but there being some misunderstanding on this latter point, the regiment was disbanded and immediately reorganized with Orris S. Ferry of Norwalk as colonel. On his appointment as brigadier-general, in March 1862, George D. Chapman of Hartford was promoted. He was taken prisoner at Cedar Mountain and resigned because of disability, in January 1863, to be succeeded by Warren W. Packer of Groton. Colonel Packer was captured at Chancellorsville.

The Sixth was organized at New Haven, in August, 1861, under John L. Chatfield of Waterbury (late of the Third) as colonel. His successors were Redfield Duryee of Waterbury and Alfred P. Rockwell of the First Light Battery who was breveted brigadier-general, in March 1865.

The Seventh rallied around Terry and Hawley, both of whom were to be advanced to be brigadiers and then to major-generals — Hawley by brevet, — and Seager S. Atwell was to be the commander, in 1865. These two regiments went out in the brigade of Horatio G. Wright of Clinton, a professional soldier who was to win his way to the command of the Sixth Corps.

The Eighth went out in September, commanded by Edward Harland of Norwich who became brigadier-general, in November 1862, leaving the veterans in command of John E. Ward of Norwich. This was followed closely by the Ninth, commanded by Colonel Thomas Cahill of Bridgeport, and when he was acting as brigade commander, by Lieutenant-Colonel R. Fitzgibbons of Bridgeport. In 1864 the decimated ranks were combined into the Ninth Battalion commanded by John G. Healy.

The Tenth's first commander was Charles L. Russell of Derby, who was to fall at Roanoke Island, February 7, 1862. Albert W. Drake of Windsor who took up the command died in June, 1862, and was succeeded by Ira W. Pettibone of Winchester. John L. Otis of Manchester came to the colonelcy in March 1863 and served till October, 1864. Otis, like E. D. S. Goodyear of New Haven and Edwin S. Greeley who succeeded him, received the brevet of brigadier, in March 1865. Of the Eleventh, which left in October, the successive commanders were: Thomas H. C. Kingsbury of Franklin, Henry W. Kingsbury of Lyme, Griffin A. Stedman of Hartford (brevetted brigadier the day he was killed, August 5, 1864) and Randall H. Rice of Plainfield.

General Butler's call for troops for his expedition, one from each New England State, was met by raising the Twelfth under command of Colonel Henry C. Deming. Eventually the Ninth was likewise assigned and also the Thirteenth. The successive commanders of the Twelfth were Deming, Ledyard Colburn of Derby, and Frank H. Peck of New Haven who was killed at Winchester, in September, 1864, on the day he was made brevet brigadier-general. When the regiment had been reduced in number to the requirement for a battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel George N. Lewis was made commander. For the Thirteenth Henry W. Birge of Norwich was chosen commander. He was promoted to be brigadier-general, in October, 1863, and received brevet of major-general in February, 1865. Charles D. Blinn of West Cornwall succeeded him as colonel. Homer B. Sprague of New Haven commanded when the regiment was cut down to a battalion, in 1864.

In April General Butler's hearty words on the conduct

of the Ninth in the New Orleans campaign made pleasant reading at home, to be followed by the news that the regiment, May 4, 1862, after Farragut had passed the Mississippi forts, was in New Orleans.

In April and May, General George B. McClellan, whose father was formerly a doctor in Woodstock, was conducting his "peninsula campaign" to approach Richmond by way of Yorktown, and for its first experience the First "Heavies" had the transportation and placing of a siege train 50 per cent heavier than any ever known in warfare. August 9, the Fifth was leading an assault, under a concentration of fire seldom equaled during the war, against a battery on the right of Jackson's front at Cedar Mountain, and was losing all of its field officers, and all except five of its other officers were wounded. Among the killed was Major Edward F. Blake of New Haven, one of the foremost men of Yale, in the class of '58.

With reverses at many points along the lines, the government in July, 1862, called for 300,000 men for three years. Connecticut's quota being 7,145. Buckingham in his appeal said: "Close your factories and workshops, turn aside from your farms and your business, leave for a while your families and your homes, meet face to face the enemies of your liberties!" The federal bounty then was \$100, the State's \$96, the towns' from \$50 to \$250. In forty-five days 8,036 men were enlisted.

These men responded knowing as none before them had known what it meant to go. They broke the bonds which held them to their families and to their means of livelihood, leaving behind those who should feel that sacrifice even unto the third and fourth generation. And for themselves, at their first view of the field they were to see the long trains of wagons bringing in the mangled.

Then in August the call was to be supplemented by another, for 300,000 nine-months' men. With view to bringing in the skulkers, a draft was ordered for September 10. This not being organized on a selective basis was repugnant to Connecticut ideas of freedom of action, nor could it cover the cases of those who had the means to buy men to take their places. The State needed 1,303 more men but what with exemptions and desertions only forty-four of those drafted were sent to the front, and another draft was planned, but before the hour arrived for it the quota was filled.

The Fourteenth, which was to be in the greatest number of battles and in proportion to its numbers and length of service was to experience the heaviest percentage of loss, was the first of the new regiments to leave. Its successive commanders were Dwight Morris of Bridgeport, Theodore G. Ellis of Hartford, (brevet brigadier-general in March, 1865); George B. Coit of Norwich (brevet brigadier-general, in March, 1865), and John C. Broatch of Middletown, also breveted. The Fifteenth went out under Dexter R. Wright of Meriden who was succeeded the following February by Charles L. Upham of Meriden. Frank Beach of Hartford commanded the Sixteenth, and later John H. Burnham of Hartford, breveted brigadier-general in March, 1865. The Seventeenth, which was to be one of the few of the Eleventh Corps that held firm at Chancellorsville, marched away under the command of William H. Noble of Bridgeport, later brevet brigadier-general.

The Eighteenth, which was to help check Early in his raid into Pennsylvania, in June 1863, and in the third desperate charge of this its first battle was to go so deeply into the center of Johnson's division that its commander

and 500 men were captured after a heroism which caused General Walker to return its commander's sword to him on the field, had William G. Ely of Norwich for its colonel, breveted brigadier-general. The Nineteenth, as already noted, became the Second Heavy Artillery. The first colonel of the Twentieth was Colonel Samuel Ross of Hartford who was wounded at Chancellorsville, and the others were William B. Wooster of Derby and Philo B. Buckingham of Seymour.

For the Twenty-first, in which Governor Buckingham took special interest, Arthur H. Dutton of Wallingford, a brilliant young regular army officer, was selected for colonel. Successively the other commanders were Thomas F. Burpee of Rockville, Hiram B. Crosby of Norwich and James F. Brown of North Stonington. The Twenty-second was the first of the nine-months' troops, under Colonel George S. Burnham of Hartford. The Twenty-third was commanded by Colonel Charles E. L. Holmes of Waterbury.

Colonel Samuel M. Mansfield of Middletown, son of General J. K. F. Mansfield and himself a regular army officer, commanded the Twenty-fourth which was to make history at Port Hudson. The Twenty-fifth, Colonel George P. Bissell of Hartford, also did good service there, as likewise the Twenty-sixth, Colonel Thomas G. Kingsley of Franklin, who was wounded. The Twenty-seventh, Colonel Richard S. Bostwick of New Haven, was to be terribly decimated on various fields. Those who led the remnants of it in its later months were Henry C. Merwin, killed at Gettysburg, and James H. Coburn, both of New Haven.

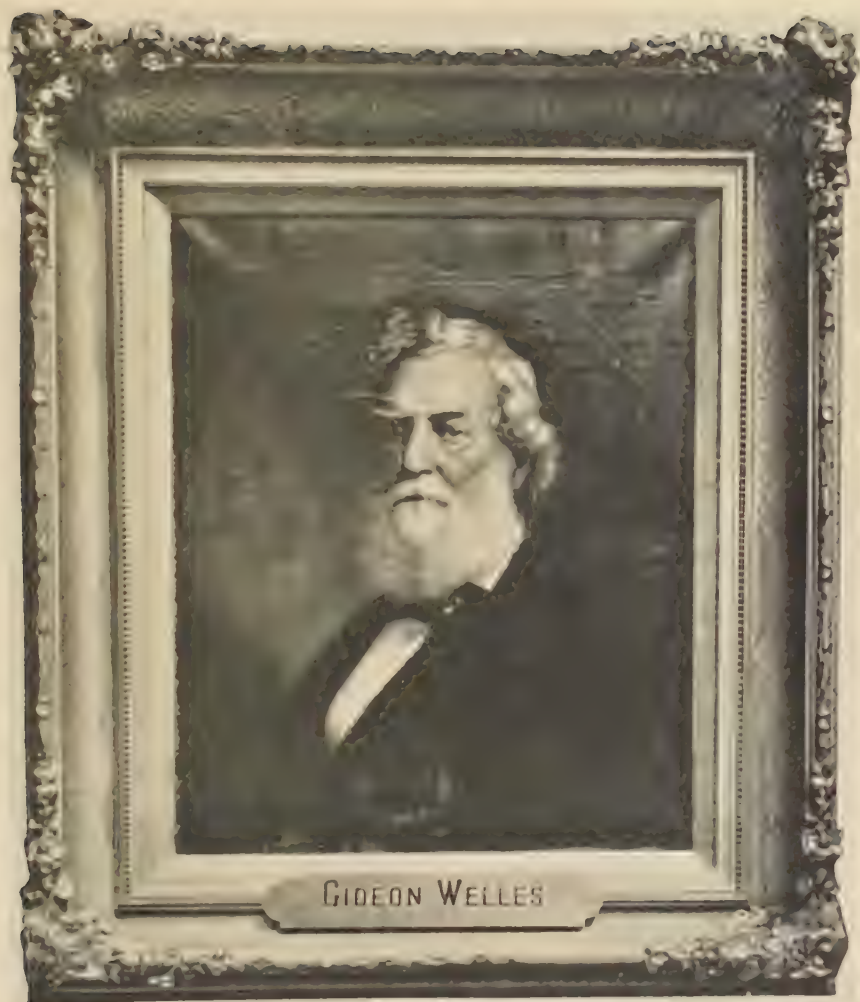
The Twenty-eighth, destined for the southern coast and along to Port Hudson, was under the command of

Samuel P. Ferris of Stamford. The Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth (changed to the Thirty-first United States Colored Infantry) gave opportunity for the colored citizens to show their zealous appreciation of what the war meant for their race. William B. Wooster of Derby was their colonel and David Torrance lieutenant-colonel—later to be associated with Wooster in the practice of law and himself to become chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Henry C. Ward of Hartford was chosen to command the Thirty-first. Both regiments did exceptionally fine service.

IN BATTLES

The Fourteenth and Sixteenth were thrown into the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, without drill and with only partial equipment. The Fourteenth was fighting thirty-six hours without food or drink. Colonel H. W. Kingsbury of the Eleventh was shot twice before taken from the field and twice while being carried off. The Eighth was left unsupported in an advanced position till Major Appleman, the only field officer left, withdrew the hundred survivors in good order. The Sixteenth on the left, was surprised and cut to pieces, Lieutenant-Colonel Frank W. Cheney of South Manchester being among the wounded. The Eleventh, misled by a guide, was brought up with the brigade by Lieutenant-Colonel Stedman who, with Major Moegling, was struck down in the fiercest of the fight, and Colonel Beach of the Sixteenth took over the command of the survivors of the two regiments. Of the Connecticut troops 136 were killed and 466 wounded. In this battle also fell General Mansfield.

The Eighth, Tenth and Eleventh were cramped in the over-crowded and storm-tossed ships for three weeks on Burnside's expedition in November but showed their



HON. GIDEON WELLES

Secretary of the Navy under President Lincoln. From the Portrait by Charles
Noell Flagg, in the State Library, Hartford.

quality at Roanoke Island, where Colonel Russell of the Tenth was killed, and again at Newbern, where Colonel Drake contracted the disease from which he died.

Altogether it had been a busy summer in the State. On August 14, another name had been added to the list of distinguished sons of Ashford, whence Colonel Knowlton of Washington's army came. General Nathaniel Lyon of the regular army, by his farsightedness as well as by his generalship and initiative, had saved Missouri to the Union but had fallen at the battle of Wilson's Creek, the first general officer to give his life. It spurred on enlistments, and that too despite what many were suffering from the shortage of supplies. Perhaps no regiment suffered worse than the Ninth which Governor Buckingham had supposed General Butler would see equipped, for he was to have it for a secret expedition; the regiment received no decent apparel and no guns till it was among those approaching New Orleans, eventually to capture that city. When Colonel Tyler took command of the First Heavies in September at Darnestown the conditions were indicated by a letter from Chaplain Walker who told of the colonel's compliments to the men who tried to appear respectable on parade: "Even the man who put a coat of blacking on his bare feet was thus rewarded for his pains and, though destitute of pantaloons, marched off with the air of a major-general."

In October the government had R. H. Chappell of New London procure along the Sound forty-five ships which were made over and loaded with tons of stones from Connecticut hills and then taken to Charleston and Savannah to be sunk in the harbor channels to check blockade running. On November 7, the Sixth and Seventh gained and occupied Port Royal and Hilton Head

which was cited in a proclamation by Governor Buckingham saying: "Two regiments from Connecticut were the first to land on the hostile shore and, after the Stars and Stripes, the flag of Connecticut was the first to wave above the traitorous soil of South Carolina."

When the limit set at the May session of the Legislature had been reached with the organization of the Tenth, the Governor assembled that body on October 10, to see how much more could be done and was given authority to raise an unlimited number of troops and to use another \$2,000,000 as he saw fit. Henry C. Deming of Hartford, a prominent Democrat and intensely loyal, was chosen speaker *pro tempore*. All partisan bias was eliminated. The government's direct tax of \$308,214 was ordered paid. At the same time it was ordered that the portraits of former Governor Isaac Toucey, who had been Buchanan's secretary of war, and of former Governor Thomas H. Seymour be removed from the Senate chamber till the comptroller should be satisfied as to their loyalty, which proved to be till just prior to the session of 1867.

The great event of the early part of 1862 was the defeat of the iron-clad *Merrimac* by the little *Monitor*, at Hampton Roads, March 9, after some of the best federal ships had been sunk. And in this also was there a special thrill for Connecticut. C. S. Bushnell of New Haven had furnished the inventor, Captain John Ericsson, the financial support that made this possible, and Gideon Welles of Hartford, the secretary of the navy, had given his approval to the plan when doubters were numerous.

On April 10 and 11, the Sixth and Seventh regiments on Tybee Island attacked and battered to submission the famous Fort Pulaski twenty miles from Savannah. Croffut, the historian of the war for Connecticut, says of

this: "The general commanding the district and present on Tybee (H. W. Benham) was from Connecticut; a majority of the investing forces were from Connecticut; Colonel Perry of the Forty-eighth New York was from Ridgefield, Connecticut, and one of the officers of the Third Rhode Island was Captain Thomas R. Briggs of Danielsonville, Connecticut. The gunboat *Norwich* from Connecticut completed the blockading west of the fort. The fort itself was constructed twenty years before by Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Mansfield of Connecticut, assisted by Lieutenant Benham, assistant engineer, from Connecticut. Moreover it was now commanded by Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, a rebel, to whom Ridgefield, Connecticut, gave birth."

The Ninth, in July of 1862, had the highest mortality of any regiment in the service during the same period of time; of the 350 engaged in digging Farragut's canal near Vicksburg 153 died of disease. In Hooker's assault on the impregnable Marye's Heights at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, the Fourteenth and Twenty-seventh were among those regiments that lost most heavily.

The gloom of the winter following was made more dense by news like that, nor was it relieved by the whinnings of the "peace" men against whom the patriotic Governor had fulminated with a proclamation in September. United States Marshal Carr had done what he could to check their clearly disloyal actions, and the people had taken up the cry against them with such vigor that enlistments actually had been helped on. It was all the more depressing to find that they were seeking recourse to the ballot.

In those days the gubernatorial election came annually in the spring. Thomas H. Seymour was nominated on a

peace platform to run against Buckingham. Men at the front, singly and in groups, wrote home their sentiments which frequently were published. Colonel Ross of the Twentieth in a letter said: "The cry of peace is too old to deceive an intelligent patriot. We remember that the 'peace men' of the Revolution fled to British men-of-war. We remember that the 'peace men' in 1812 furnished the enemy with supplies or sought refuge from conscription by cowardly flight to Canada." With a total of nearly 80,000 votes, Buckingham's majority was 2,637. (At the Democratic national convention in 1864, Seymour received 38 votes for President.)

Not only were sons of Connecticut demonstrating their loyalty by enlisting in other states, many of them being promoted to high positions, but they also were contributing of their means and energies to alleviate the conditions of those in the field. The Sons of Connecticut were organized in New York in September, 1861, and under the leadership of such men as Robert H. McCurdy (formerly of Lyme), Charles Gould, W. C. Gilman and Prosper M. Wetmore did much throughout the war to cheer on the "boys" on the journey South and to look after their welfare in camp and hospital. Governor Buckingham appointed Colonel A. H. Almy as their special representative in this State. The Soldiers' Aid Society was organized in Washington, with Admiral A. H. Foote as its first president, to receive and disburse the vast amount of supplies being shipped by friends of the soldiers. Within the State communities were perfecting their own methods of getting their contributions to the men, and in June, 1862, the United States Sanitary Commission was organized to carry on the work with a wonderful system



ADMIRAL ANDREW HULL FOOTE, U. S. N., 1806-1863

A Courageous and Successful Officer, Thoroughly Devoted to His Profession and the Uniting of the Best Characteristics of the Old and New Schools of the U. S. Navy.

made possible only by the constant efforts, especially of the women, throughout the North.

The Connecticut troops in the lower Mississippi valley, in Birge's brigade in General Banks's expedition, at Irish Bend, on the Red River, in the spring of 1863, and at terrible Port Hudson, in June, won glory. The regiments were the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth and Twenty-eighth. Richard E. Holcomb of the Thirteenth was made colonel of the First Louisiana, raised in that State, and was killed while leading the regiment over breastworks at Port Hudson. The Twenty-fourth raised the flag of the State over its cotton-bale breastworks close to the enemy and held on for twenty-five days, or till victory was won. It was given post of honor at the capitulation, as also was the Twenty-seventh. When Banks on June 15, called for the storming party of 1,000 with promise that each member should receive a medal and have his name on the roll of honor, Connecticut took the lead of all the states in responding. Colonel Birge asked for and received the command of his old regiment (he had been commanding a brigade), the Thirteenth, which furnished one-fourth of the thousand. Two colored regiments furnished 200. Day after day they stood ready to give their lives in what history calls the "forlorn hope," finally rendered unnecessary by the capitulation July 8. Some of these nine-months' regiments remained on duty considerably beyond the term of their enlistment, fulfilling the requirements of the southwest and defying disease as well as bullets. Birge of the Thirteenth became a division commander; Colonel Bissell and Lieutenant-Colonel Mason C. Weld of the Twenty-fifth and Colonel Kingsley of the Twenty-sixth commanded brigades.

Dark days have been forgotten in the rejoicing of a united and prosperous country but history records them, — dark and sorrowful as the best men of the North found out that the best men of the South were also splendid fighters, that the eagle of victory was fickle and that distress and grief in thousands of homes were leaving marks ineffaceable through long years to come. In the camps on both sides of the line religious spirit was manifested by the number of Bibles carried by the men, by the fervor of prayer meetings and by the reverence for the devoted band of chaplains. It may be doubted whether this spirit was so strong in any war, before or since, unless it were Cromwell's.

Tales from Andersonville and Libby prisons had made death seem more pleasant than captivity, and yet nearly the whole of the brave Sixteenth was to fall into the hands of the enemy. On April 17, 1863, all but one company, which was on detached duty, was at Plymouth, North Carolina, Colonel Frank Beach commanding, in the brigade of General H. W. Wessells, U. S. A., of Litchfield, when the Confederates attacked in overwhelming number. For four days the enemy were held at bay even after the gunboats had been driven from the Roanoke River by the ram *Albermarle*, but finally surrender was forced.

Chancellorsville followed soon after, May 23, where the Fourteenth, the Seventeenth, the Twentieth, the Fifth and the Twenty-seventh, suffered heavy loss.

George W. Baird of Milford, a junior at Yale and one of the many bright college boys who had answered the country's call, had enlisted as a private in the First Light Battery. His rating on examination for a commission was so high that he was made colonel of the Thirty-second United States Colored Infantry.

All this time Connecticut was well represented by officers and men in the navy. Gideon Welles of Hartford, pursuing the even tenor of his way, undisturbed by factious criticisms, was making unprecedented world history by a powerful blockade of the longest coast line ever known in warfare. Among the names of others who brought credit to their state was that of Rear Admiral Andrew Hull Foote of New Haven, the hero of Island Number 10, and of Forts Henry and Donelson. All the North mourned when he died in New York, June 26, 1863. Though suffering from an old wound, he still insisted on active service and was on his way to take command of the South Atlantic squadron.

THE DRAFT

The problem of more and more men was ever recurring. There was a feeling that volunteering was not the right principle. Men who ought to serve were still at home enjoying the high war-time wages. Where both contending parties were equally weak in preparedness and training, it must be numbers that should tell, and in them the North must excel. Plan for a selective draft there was not time to work out. Necessity was demanding that repugnance to a plain draft must be ignored, but there was compromise—or the prospect of better success—in confining it to the enrolled militia. The call for a draft of that kind was issued July 1. Connecticut's quota was 7,692 plus 50 per cent to cover exemptions. Rioting and crime of all sort followed the enforcement of it in New York, Boston and other cities. In Connecticut secret assemblings of "peace men" caused the Governor's office to be filled with letters expressive of alarm. Buckingham called out two battalions of volunteer infantry but they had to do no active

duty. In the extra session of the Legislature, attempt was made to condemn him for his action by demanding to know where arms were that had been taken unlawfully from their proper place of deposit. With mild rebuke he replied, reviewing his authority and saying that of the muskets he had distributed to towns named, all had been returned except 315 which were in the possession of the new companies.

Of 11,539 drafted, 8,000 were exempted. Then 248 principals and 2,248 substitutes, who could be provided by stay-at-homes having the money to buy them, were mustered in. Of these 400 deserted and the remainder were distributed among the decimated three-years' regiments.

Such was the condition when the news came that Lee was pushing by our armies and on into the North. But men who had not been bought, men who had set forth at thirteen dollars a month and who were looking for no other reward than a united country, men whose dearest comrades had gone down to death and who were willing themselves to make the same sacrifice were there to meet him that July 1, 2 and 3. The first day Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Fowler of the Seventeenth and other officers of the regiment fell while withstanding a fierce charge. The second day the Fifth and Twentieth, in the Second Corps, were on the extreme right; the Seventeenth at the right center, the Fourteenth with only 160 survivors and the Twenty-seventh with only 75 were on Cemetery ridge along the left. The Second Connecticut Battery was near the left center. General Robert O. Tyler was commanding all the reserve artillery which poured the grape and canister into Longstreet's advancing lines.

In the Twenty-seventh Lieutenant-Colonel Henry C.

Merwin of New Haven fell in the bloody wheat field. The Fifth and Twentieth which were hurried to the threatened left that day returned to their original position at night only to find that it had been occupied by the enemy and in the morning drove him out in a largely hand-to-hand fight.

On the third day, after nearly two hours of the greatest artillery duel known in warfare up to that time, came Pickett's unparalleled charge. Braving the 200 federal guns they pressed on toward the batteries on Cemetery ridge, three times wavered and reformed, and persisted. The Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-seventh and the Second Light Battery were in the midst of it, and finally the Twentieth was brought over with the reinforcements. When the enemy's broken line was at the crest of the terrible wave, men of the Fourteenth sprang from behind their stone wall and captured five of his battle flags and forty prisoners. The regiment itself lost 10 killed and 52 wounded, seven officers included. Soon after over one hundred of the enemy came into the regiment's line and surrendered.

The Light Battery was in position fifty-six hours without being relieved. The Seventeenth, also behind the wall, sustained the charge of the Louisiana Tigers, and lost its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler; the prisoners it took numbered more than one-half of its own total strength.

When the battalion of Connecticut cavalry this summer was increased to a regiment under Colonel William S. Fish, 120 prisoners or deserters from the Confederate ranks were among the recruits. They declared that they had been impressed into the Confederate service and they made most dependable soldiers.

Brilliant but costly deeds followed fast in these weeks of desperation. At Fort Wagner, in Charleston harbor, July 10, the Seventh went in with 191 officers and men and came through with only 89. On the 18th of the same month, in the second assault on that stronghold, Colonel Chatfield who had refused command of a brigade in order that he might lead his own regiment, the Sixth, received his death wound in the moment of seeming victory. A remnant of the Seventh was manning a battery. The Tenth was held in reserve. As the line came within point-blank range, the guns of Wagner, Sumter and James Island dealt forth such carnage as history never before had recorded. But nothing could stop the remnants of the Sixth in its charge over the parapets and down among the astounded enemy. The handful left looked in vain for support. The regiments of the first line were on the parapet but the supporting brigade had stopped to fire, the enemy had recovered from his amazement and now was upon the Sixth—to be still further surprised, however, when he found the fighting quality undiminished and to fall back before three charges, after which he was willing to desist. For more than three hours the Sixth held its position, the few survivors then withdrawing, their colors with them, upholding which eight men had fallen and the folds of which the colonel had grasped as he was struck down. The general commanding and five colonels were among the casualties and a major was in command of the storming column at the close.

The Seventeenth, Colonel Noble commanding a brigade, and six companies of the Seventh brought up from St. Augustine were in the trenches and at the guns around Wagner till it fell September 6. Medals of honor were awarded to three men in the First Light Battery, to



JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY, 1826-1905
Civil War Hero, Governor 1866—U. S. Senator, 1881-1905. Bronze Plaque
erected by the State in 1915 in the North Portico of the State Capitol,
Hartford. Herbert Adams, Sculptor.

twenty in the Sixth, fifteen in the Seventh and four in the Seventeenth. Chaplain Henry Clay Trumbull and Adjutant Henry W. Camp of the Tenth were captured during the truce after the assault of the 18th, when helping the wounded. After serious protests against this violation of the rules of war and the reply that the chaplain was really a fighter, Trumbull was returned.

Soon after these battles, Colonel Hawley of the Seventh procured the breech-loading Spencer rifles, made in Hartford, which were not to be approved by the War Department till near the end of the war.

On October 17, there was a call for 300,000 men as replacement troops for the regiments in the field. The State offered bounties of \$300, at the same time prohibiting bounties by individual towns lest they should become bankrupt. The total of all bounties thus was made \$602 with \$100 extra for veterans. United States recruiting agents in each town received \$15 from the government and \$10 from the State for each recruit. They in turn employed recruiting brokers on commission, some of whom robbed the recruits. Bad as the method was it serves to illustrate the severity of the emergency. Connecticut's quota was 9,053. Men in service who had not more than a year longer under their original terms re-enlisted to the number of 3,347. Adopted citizens and even aliens were attracted by the high pay. The State's quota was filled, as it was again a short time after, when the quota was 5,260. It was the only State east of the Mississippi with quota more than full.

Colonel Hawley's brigade at Olustee, Florida, on February 5 and 6, 1864, lost 580 out of a total of 3,500; his old regiment, the Seventh, numbering but 364, lost 69 when left unsupported in an advanced position gained

by a brilliant charge. At about this time Colonel Ely was a leader among the 108 officers who successfully tunneled out of Libby prison at Richmond, but he with fifty others was recaptured.

In May the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and the First Light Battery were in Butler's expedition up the James to cut off Richmond from the South—one of the exceptional opportunities of the war. After damaging the railroad, General A. H. Terry on May 14, with Hawley's and Plaisted's brigades, worked around to the rear of the enemy's feebly manned front works and on May 16, was threatening the Richmond defenses themselves, from near Drury's Bluff. But as Butler delayed, Beauregard had been assembling 20,000 whom he pushed up from the South to fill the dangerous gap. In the dense fog of that morning, he took the offensive and most unexpectedly struck Butler's right an overwhelming blow. In a few moments the Sixth had lost Lieutenant-Colonel Lorenzo Meeker of Stamford and several men. The right had to yield and, not getting the order to retire, the Seventh there was badly cut up. The Eighth, flanked on both sides, and the Tenth, covering the withdrawal of the advanced regiments, were hit hard, but took several prisoners. The Eleventh, under Stedman, withstood the shock till ordered by General Wistar to retire to the fortifications near the James where it was found that the enemy were holding everything and further retirement was compulsory.

This combined retirement and the retirement of Massachusetts and New Jersey troops in consequence and finally of a supporting Maine regiment, on the other flank, left the Twenty-first in a precarious position—the last regiment on the right of the army. The attack now coming

on three sides, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas F. Burpee in command ordered "change of front to rear on center company," which was executed with drill-field precision, and continued the fight. At eight o'clock, after three hours' grappling with a foe screened by the fog, Colonel Burpee received word that if he could hold out half an hour longer relief would come. He held out for over an hour when, no support having appeared, he withdrew, fighting through the woods in Indian fashion, to an open field in the rear. There the regiment reformed and, joined by the Ninety-eighth New York, advanced to a line in the woods which was held till Butler ordered the retirement of the whole force. One of Beauregard's officers, in his story of the war, mentions the Twenty-first as the regiment which, by holding out, deceived the Confederates and prevented the execution of the plan to mop up the section. Like certain other regiments, this one had been so badly decimated in action that its commander could not be given the full title of colonel, though it was bestowed by the State.

On May 26, Colonel Dutton of the Twenty-first, who long had been acting as chief of staff of the Army of the James and then as brigade commander and whose brigadier commission was at hand, was mortally wounded while reconnoitering. He was a descendant of the Douglas family and others whose names were prominent in the story of the Revolutionary War.

It was a well-seasoned but much battered army that Grant threw against Lee at Cold Harbor that June. Its latest seasoning and battering had been on fields like that of Spottsylvania in the Wilderness campaign, where Major-General John Sedgwick of Cornwall, the greatly beloved commander of the Sixth Corps, was killed and

where the Fourteenth, the First Connecticut Cavalry and the Second "Heavies" (acting as infantry) had paid heavy toll. Colonel Elisha Kellogg, commanding the Second "Heavies," was to be among the first to fall in the fearful charge on Lee's strong position, June 1, but his first battalion, under heavy cross fire, held its position within forty rods of the parapet and the next morning edged forward still farther. The regiment's sacrifice was the most severe of any along the line. The Fourteenth, which had entered upon the campaign with only 345 officers and men, lost more than 45 per cent. On the second day's assault, General R. O. Tyler was wounded and it was the turn of the Eighth, Tenth and Twenty-first. As Grant withdrew to get around Lee's right, the Twenty-first was among the regiments retained a short time in Lee's front. On June 9, Colonel Burpee who had succeeded Dutton was mortally wounded by a sharp-shooter.

Many a good officer and man was gone and unreplaceable when Grant got his army before Petersburg and the trench warfare began, in many particulars quite like that employed later in the World War. Colonel Abbott of the First "Heavies" was called to the command of all the siege artillery and relied chiefly on his old regiment, whose mortar, mounted on the Capitol grounds at Hartford as a memorial, is a reminder of those days. The First Cavalry was in Wilson's dare-devil raid of ten days and lost 72 men while damaging the enemy's lines of supply. Colonel Stedman won his brevet; with his regiment (the Eleventh) and the Eighth he lay ready to do the follow-up work after the miserable fiasco when the great mine was exploded. Colored men of the Thirty-first Connecticut were among those sacrificed through bad generalship in that crater. Soon after, on August 5, the gallant Sted-

man was killed by a random shot and his junior, Lieutenant-Colonel Moegling, was wounded.

Meantime, throughout the South, where the work of attrition was going forward, Connecticut was represented, on land and sea. The Fifth and the Twentieth were in Sherman's march to the sea. The Second Light Battery, shipped to the Gulf, did land duty at Mobile Bay. The commander of the Hartford, Farragut's flag ship, was Lieutenant-Commander Edward Terry of Hartford; Lieutenant J. C. Kinney of Hartford was his signal officer, and Harry Howard Brownell of East Hartford was writing some of the stanzas of his glowing war epic, "The Bay Fight," while serving on Farragut's staff.

The Eighteenth was with General Hunter in his dash down the Shenandoah valley, the main source of supplies for Richmond. The Second "Heavies" was sent with General Horatio G. Wright of the Sixth Corps (a native of Orange) to ward off from Washington the counter-blow which Early was aiming. July 24 the Eighteenth was back again at Winchester where it narrowly escaped being captured, and then went over to help cut off Early who was raiding in Pennsylvania.

It was in August that Sheridan was dispatched to the Shenandoah valley to make sure that that rich farming section no longer should be of value to Confederate armies. In his masterly handling of his swift campaign against Early, the First Cavalry on August 16 was at the very front at Winchester, most cleverly avoiding complete capture when the line fell back. The Eighteenth was permitted to retire, thoroughly used up from its previous campaigning in that section, and Colonel Ely received his brevet. Sheridan's strong advance was fixed for the morning of September 19. The first Cavalry, at

Opequan Creek, had been sent in advance and in a night engagement had gained and held important trenches. The Second "Heavies," the Ninth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth, were in the corps that came down upon the bold Confederate chieftain in the morning. Misunderstanding of an order caused Grover to retire his division but Lieutenant-Colonel Sprague of the Thirteenth would hold fast and was among the captured. The Ninth, Twelfth and Second "Heavies" were decimated in the charge that followed. Colonel Peck of the Twelfth fell fatally hurt and Captain S. E. Clark was summoned to the command. Captain W. E. Bradley was in command of the Thirteenth. Early was driven back through Winchester but at terrible cost. The list of killed in the Second "Heavies" included Major James Q. Rice of Goshen and Major Jeffrey Skinner; Colonel Mackenzie was wounded. The Twelfth lost its colonel, Frank H. Peck of New Haven.

The battle of Cedar Creek was not till October 19. The Connecticut regiments were among those swept away in the torrent of Early's "zero-hour" drive upon Sheridan's camps, but they were among the first to rally under General Wright and to participate in the counter charge under Sheridan's inspiration. Birge's division led the determined force which turned defeat into victory and put Early once more in flight down the valley.

Grant before Petersburg was ever seeking to thrust at the heart of his alert antagonist. A thrust in September and October nearly proved successful. Fort Harrison, one of the strongest of the works around Richmond, succumbed to the blow of the First Division of the Eighteenth Corps which included the Sixth, Seventh, Tenth, Twenty-first and Twenty-ninth (colored) of Connecticut. It was of the nature of a superhuman effort by remnants

of regiments led often by subalterns. That was on September 29. The corps pushed on toward the capital of the Confederacy. On the right of the line, Terry with the Sixth, Seventh and Tenth behind him advanced up the Darbytown road to within three miles of the city, but was compelled to retire since the progress of others had been checked. The following day, Lee, coming out with a powerful force, undertook to recapture Fort Harrison, but the Eighth and Twenty-first hurled him back. Captain William S. Hubbell of the Twenty-first received the Congressional medal for his alertness and valor in taking a small force outside the fort and capturing some 200 of the assailants. He was badly wounded.

On October 7, the enemy attacked Terry's portion of the advanced line with courage born of the last hope. The Tenth moved to the right of Hawley's brigade whose "seven-shooting" rifles were doing terrible execution, and had not long to wait before the thrust came its way, with all the more destructiveness when a New York regiment next to it retired in disorder — and despite the efforts of Chaplain Trumbull of the Tenth, revolver in hand, to rally them. In a communication commending both Colonel Otis and the chaplain, General Plaisted said that "the regiment's behavior saved us from disaster." The Sixth and the Seventh were equally immovable and the enemy had to retire to his old line of works. Terry now succeeded to the command of the corps and on October 13, an advance was made upon the enemy's strong fortifications.

Then there was an example of that self-sacrifice which cost so dearly. Major Henry W. Camp of the Tenth was one of the most beloved men of the army — "The Knightly Soldier" as Chaplain Trumbull called him in his biography. In the regiment as in Yale, his influence al-

ways was inspiring. When the regiment went forward for what was an almost hopeless charge, he shared the command with Colonel Otis and Lieutenant-Colonel Greeley. As they reached the most advanced point, through a storm of bullets, grape and canister, his tall form was the target for the whole Confederate line of that section. "Waving his sword, he called out cheerily, 'Come on, boys! Come on!' then turned to the color sergeant just emerging from the thicket, that he might rally the men on the regimental standard. As he did so a bullet passed through his lungs; and, as he fell on his side, he was pierced again and yet again by the thick-coming shot. His death was as by a lightning's stroke. His eyes scarce turned from their glance at the tattered, dear old flag, ere they were closed to earth, and opened again beyond the stars, and their field of blue"—to quote from the chaplain. The line was compelled to retire; it was the first time in the experience of the Tenth, but Colonel Otis said he had no apology to offer.

On October 27, another drive was made on the Darbytown road but failed. It was particularly noteworthy on account of an exhibition of endurance by the colored men of the Twenty-ninth; in the most advanced position, they held their place on the skirmish line twenty-three hours, and on their return to camp not a man was missing. At the same time the Fourteenth was winning fresh laurels in the attack on Lee's right at Hatcher's Run, taking the enemy's works in front, but as a whole the movement was unsuccessful except as a diversion.

Down in Florida Colonel Noble of the Seventeenth was winning his brevet by the intelligence with which he was handling the troops around him. On December 22, while riding alone from Jacksonville, he was captured, and a



STATUE SYMBOLIZING CONNECTICUT CIVIL WAR SOLDIER ON THE CAPITAL GROUNDS,
HARTFORD.

Gift to the State by Col. Frank W. Cheney of Manchester. Bela Lyon Pratt, Sculptor.

like fate was to befall his successor, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilcoxson, the following February 3, when he and a small portion of the regiment were surrounded; the wound he there received proved fatal.

THE CRISIS

With victory almost in hand for the North on some days, it was altogether the most critical period of the war. The South, though exhausted, would not yield. The type of men it was able to draft was of a low order but they could be brought shoulder to shoulder with men who for four years had supported their able generals handsomely and without a murmur. The federal three-years' troops already were reduced to a minimum. Many of their ablest had fallen and the men called to fill the ranks were hardly superior in type to those that were being hunted out of the hills of the southland. The presidential election in the North that fall had revealed keen discord and had developed such rioting, in New York in particular, that a whole division (under Hawley) had had to be dispatched to that city. Connecticut had been passed over in the later drafts of men to make up deficiencies because her quota was full, but she heard about the kind of material which was coming into the camps of the regiments of which she was so proud,—of the letter of Chaplain Trumbull saying: "It is not the situation at the front but the public sentiment at home that disheartens the soldiers"; and of the published report of her own adjutant general, deploring the scum of the great cities attracted by the bounties, and the 4,000 substitutes (for which each principal received a bounty), one-half of whom had deserted, and saying, "These were not Connecticut men." Lincoln's majority in the State at that fall election was only 2,406.

Without the soldier vote in the field, that year permitted, it might have been nil. It was not only the "peace men" who kept this figure down but also those who were sobbing, "It is cruelly hopeless."

Everything counted, and especially the Confederacy's ability to get supplies from abroad through runners of the long line of blockade, which Secretary of the Navy Welles was finding difficulty in maintaining while those across the water were willing if not eager to break it. Fort Fisher on the coast of North Carolina was one of the strongholds which made blockade-running possible. General Butler having failed in his ambitious plan to reduce it, General Terry was selected as the commander to do it, in conjunction with Admiral Porter. He took with him 8,000 men, including the extremely mobile Sixth and Seventh, and the First "Heavies" with a siege train. These regiments were sadly few in numbers but Terry knew what they could do.

With the opening of the bombardment by Porter on January 13, history was to be made which was to refute the arguments in too many countries in Europe and decide once for all whether the cotton-supplying South could be "recognized," but not till the South's standard of bravery was recognized by all the world. The terrific bombardment having little affected the splendid works, Terry landed his troops. When the valiant marines were finally driven back by withering volleys, the infantry brigade advanced under a concentrated fire, up to the parapet of the northwest angle before it was checked. Terry at once formed a column of his own old regiment (the Seventh), of the Sixth and of Colonel Abbott's artillery which he directed along in the shadow of the parapet to the sea front, there to remain till the other regi-

ments could close in, and then, under his personal leadership, break through, drive the enemy on into Fort Buchanan and compel surrender. It was a wise disposition but its success depended wholly on the firmness of the veterans. And Terry had not misjudged. When he paused with his troops in Buchanan he was absolute victor and had taken possession of seven blockade-runners, 160 splendid foreign-made guns and 2,000 of the best troops of the South. His own name was being sounded throughout the land.

There was gloom at the last moment when the magazine of the fort blew up, burying a hundred men of both sides. Among the killed was Paymaster R. H. Gillette of the navy, son of Senator Francis Gillette of Hartford.

Lincoln at once named Terry to be major-general of volunteers and brigadier in the regular establishment, which nomination was enthusiastically confirmed. Congress adopted resolutions thanking him by name and all who were with him. (After the war he was to receive the highest honor accorded to any volunteer officer in the service, a major-generalship by brevet in the army, in which capacity he was to win still more honors in the Indian campaigns.)

Hardly less brilliant were the dashes of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitaker of the First Connecticut Cavalry, in Virginia, February 4. In the absence of Colonel Ives, he was ordered to take his regiment and bring in the doughty Confederate raider, General Gilmor. Riding seventy miles, thirty of them inside the enemy's lines, he surprised Gilmor near his camp and brought him back, covering 140 miles in forty-eight hours. Then on March 3, he was sent on a raid around the enemy's rear in command of three of Custer's best regiments. He passed within nine

miles of Richmond, at a point where his own regiment in advance routed Early and his escort and took several prisoners. On his return he met the enemy in deep mud at Waynesborough, defeated him and secured 1,300 prisoners, 150 wagons, 8,000 horses and mules, 11 guns and 18 battle flags.

While Terry was continuing his victories along the North Carolina coast, the Ninth and Thirteenth, reduced to battalions, were sent to Savannah. The Fifth and Twentieth were with Sherman in his march toward that port. The Fifteenth in North Carolina was to lose 100 killed and wounded and many prisoners when attacked by Hoke and his force of 6,000. Terry and Schofield were planning their junction with Sherman at Goldsborough. Hawley with his Connecticut men was recalled to Petersburg where Abbott, with brevet of brigadier, was handling his artillery effectively, and where the Eighth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and Twenty-ninth were in the trenches north of the James, the Fourteenth away on the left of the investing line, the Twelfth (now a battalion) at Summit Point and the Eighteenth at Halltown.

Casualties were many and patience was tried to the utmost, till at last the cavalry victory at Five Forks broke the enemy's spirit and the end was at hand, but not without more bitter sacrifices. Brayton Ives was colonel of the First Cavalry with Sheridan when it had one of the most trying of all its experiences—at Five Forks on April 1—and helped in rounding up 5,000 of the enemy. In accord with Grant's plan all the batteries opened at midnight that night, beginning with the First Connecticut, and at daylight the First and Second Corps advanced simultaneously. The Tenth and a New York regiment were to carry the long insolent Fort Gregg by direct as-

sault. As the regiment charged through the hottest zone of fire it yet had experienced, Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. S. Goodyear of North Haven fell with his third wound but would not be removed till he had learned that the flag of his State was the first on the parapet and that at length the splendid foe had succumbed. The regiment lost nearly half its men and six of its officers were wounded, most of them more than once. The new state flag, just received from home, had been torn by twenty-three bullets and three more had struck the staff.

Nor was it to be enough glory for the Tenth till its skirmishers had been the first to enter Fort Baldwin. Major-General John Gibbon of the Twenty-fourth Corps recognized the valor he had witnessed by presenting to the regiment a bronze eagle, with appropriate inscription on its base, to surmount the staff of the state flag.

When the evacuation of Lee's defenses began the evening of the 2nd, the First Battery, the Eighth, Eleventh, Twenty-first and Twenty-ninth (Lieutenant-Colonel Torrance commanding) were ready to spring forward and were on their way into Richmond early the morning of the 3rd, there to find their first duty to be the extinguishing of the fires that had been set by those who had fled. The cavalry and the Second "Heavies," and the Tenth, Fourteenth and Thirtieth Infantry were in pursuit of Lee who hoped to be able to join Johnston. The cavalry were in the advance of Custer's division when it struck the enemy at Sailors Creek, captured many and burned supply wagons till the enemy rallied and threw up entrenchments. In the rashness of the moment a charge upon the entrenchments was ordered and the First Cavalry and again the Tenth Infantry were among those who suffered. Horses and men were cut down in swaths. One-fifth of

the Tenth fell within a radius of one rod, but there was the satisfaction of knowing that their dead lay nearer the entrenchments than any others. At sunset, reinforcements arrived and Ewell's Corps was forced to surrender. The Second Artillery and the Fourteenth also participated in this fight.

Lee's famished troops kept on till intercepted Sunday, April 9, a hundred miles west of Petersburg. The remnants of the Tenth and the cavalry were there to take part in destroying Lee's last hope of getting through. The cavalry, under Colonel Ives, acted as escort for Grant when he met Lee, with the Fourteenth under Colonel Moore close by, the Second Artillery under Colonel James Hubbard to the north and the Tenth a mile to the westward. On the 17th Johnston likewise surrendered.

Buckingham was re-elected Governor by 11,035 votes the day the troops entered Richmond. This inspired General Terry, who was assigned to command in Virginia with headquarters at Richmond, and also General Hawley whom Terry called to him as his chief of staff. These officers, and the men they held for a time, achieved a victory in peace no less creditable than their victories in war.

Connecticut's payments during the war had been \$4,-705,685; her total indebtedness was \$10,523,000. The total enlistments had been 54,882, or reduced to the three-years' basis, 48,181, exceeding the quota by 6,698 without reference to the last call when Connecticut was asked for none. The State had about 80,000 voters and only about 50,000 able-bodied men on the militia rolls in 1861. Only one or two states excelled Connecticut's percentage. Ninety-seven officers and 1,094 men were killed in action;

48 officers and 663 men died of wounds, and 63 officers and 3,246 men of disease.

The records for the navy, statewise, are still somewhat indefinite—as after each of our wars—because there was no state organization, but the official state compilations give the names of thousands who served.

Yale College memorializes a long list of names, including those of men who served with the South. The number of graduates and undergraduates in the Northern army was 758 of whom 640 held commissions. There were six major-generals, 19 brigadier-generals, 143 surgeons, 118 colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors and 76 chaplains.

In addition to the officers and men who served under the banners of other states, there were many of Connecticut antecedents in the regular army and navy who won distinction. Among the best known names are those of Grant and Sherman, Grant of Windsor ancestry and Sherman of Woodbury forebears.

THE SPANISH WAR

A lesson taught by the Civil War was quickly applied when in 1865 the active militia was organized as the Connecticut National Guard, largely through the efforts of General Stephen W. Kellogg of Waterbury. There was to be nearly a third of a century of peace but it is noteworthy, in Connecticut as in some of the other Northern states, that, as a strictly voluntary and state organization, without pay except when on duty, the guard was to attain its highest degree of efficiency and personnel in the decade preceding the next call to arms.

April 28, 1898, the secretary of war under President McKinley summoned 125,000 men, Connecticut to fur-

nish one regiment of infantry, one light battery, and two heavy batteries, for two years. The conduct of Spain in her control of the island of Cuba at the very doorway of America had resulted in strained relations which reached the breaking point when the battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor with great loss of life. Congress had declared war on April 21. Sentiment was not unanimous. It was openly stated in places where men chanced to meet that, while something must be done, there would be enough to do it without the rushing in of the kind of volunteers the Civil War had brought out. Properly, it was felt, the regular army and navy, though falling to lower and lower standard through Congressional indifference, should be strong enough to handle the situation with a modicum of citizen assistance. But in the National Guard there was a spirit of intense rivalry to be among the first to show a reason for existence aside from that of a constabulary nature. Obviously the government must have the aid of these troops. For some years leaders in the National Guard had undertaken to effect legislation which should make it possible to avail of such aid without loss of time through conflict between federal and state rights. Congress had not been interested.

Difficulties were adjusted now by arranging that National Guard units should volunteer and be excused from state service until the end of the war. Brigadier-General George Haven of New London, formerly colonel commanding the Third Regiment, was adjutant-general, and through him Governor Lorrin A. Cooke (of Winsted) promulgated the order (or "request") that the infantry companies recruit up from peace strength (68 officers and men) to 84, or war strength, minimum. The First and Second regiments promptly offered their services.

On April 27, the First was chosen, Colonel Charles L. Burdett of Hartford being the senior colonel of the brigade, which consisted of four regiments. The regiment was fairly well supplied with service equipage, bought with state money which otherwise would have been spent for field duty the previous year. On April 30, the regiment and Battalion A, Light Artillery, of Branford, Captain Barlow S. Honce, were ordered to rendezvous at the state camp ground at Niantic, but there was delay till May 4. The day of departure from home stations was made memorable by escorts and throngs of cheering men and women.

To eke out a regiment of artillery of three batteries, Company K of the Fourth Regiment (Bridgeport, Captain Fred J. Breckbill) was selected; Lieutenant-Colonel Frank G. Beach of New Haven, member of the Governor's staff, organized C battery, and for the third platoon of Battery A, Yale students under Lieutenant Herbert F. Weston (Lincoln, Neb.) were accepted. There were no funds in the state treasury for such assembling but there was a board of control which had authority to act.

The government's call was for two-years' men. Inasmuch as the federal law permitted the president to use state troops not over three months to repel invasion and also inasmuch as many of the guardsmen had families and felt they could not go out for \$15.60 a month, much recruiting was necessary to procure the required number of men who could join the ranks of the state troops—to be credited to the State—and could then pass under federal control for two years. The principle of naming officers by state authorities was adhered to. Captain Andrew G. Hammond, U. S. A. of Hartford birth, was

called to the position of second in command in the infantry when the officer holding the position was detained by physical disability. The regiment was mustered in May 17 and 18, together with the artillery. The Governor was very desirous that there be complete uniforming and equipping before the troops left. The new shoes were of inferior quality but the serious inconvenience was caused by the worn-out tents, the government having been caught destitute, and the market was short. The misfortune was all the greater since, throughout the weeks spent at Niantic, the rain, snow and hail made life miserable.

On May 25 there was a call for 75,000 more men of which Connecticut's immediate share was 490, in order that the regiment might be increased to twelve companies of 106 men each, as called for by the regulations, the batteries to be increased accordingly. Company G of the Fourth (Danbury, Captain Vincent M. King) and a new company raised by Captain Charles B. Bowen of Meriden were added to the regiment.

Both the Second Regiment, commanded by Colonel Lucien F. Burpee of Waterbury, and the Third, commanded by Colonel Augustus C. Tyler of New London, sought to have the Governor and General Haven of New London, his military adviser, accept them. The Second stood with full quota, selected men and good equipment, but the choice fell to the Third, which was ordered to assemble at Niantic, June 22, and recruit. The membership was brought up by adding a battalion composed of three companies from the Fourth Regiment (from Stamford, Norwalk and Winsted) and one raised by Hadlai A. Hull of Stonington. This gave an excess of 946 above the quota for the State. Captain Alexander Rodgers, U. S. A. of

Morristown, New Jersey, was made lieutenant-colonel, and Major Gilbert L. Fitch of Stamford major of the new battalion. Recruiting and equipment continued through most of the summer. On September 10, the regiment went to Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, and completed its term of service at Summerville, North Carolina, whither it went November 15. It was mustered out in Georgia the following March.

April 25, 1898, there was a call for an increase of the naval reserves battalion which was under the command of Edward G. Buckland of New Haven. On June 6, 188 enlisted men passed the examination and were ordered to duty in the navy as individual units but with Lieutenant-Commander Arthur H. Day of New Haven in charge of them. The officers of the militia battalion passed most creditable examinations and were assigned to responsible positions. Through the inadvertency of officers detailed by the Navy Department the records are very incomplete. There also was a company of efficient signal men in the service but not credited on the State's quota.

The battalion of naval reserves, who had responded in a body, refused to take the equipment furnished by the State and it was with difficulty that the men were sent to their ships in uniform, details of equipment being furnished through the instrumentality of the Hon. Morgan G. Bulkeley.

The government was wholly unprepared for war, with the result that there was much bungling in the commissary and transportation departments and consequent sickness and dissatisfaction throughout the country.

Dewey's victory at Manila had seemed to decide the war but as Cervera's fleet was still at large, the Atlantic

coast was tremulous with excitement for a time. All the troops were eager to get "to the front," living in daily expectation of the hour, yet the adjutant-general's report subsequently revealed that his "department knew that the State's entire quota was assigned to coast defense as early as May 8." Further, it is recorded that the navy department knew on May 19, that Cervera was in Santiago harbor, Cuba. The infantry regiment at Niantic was broken up into details for Plum and Gull Islands at the entrance to Long Island Sound, soon after muster-in, and for old Forts Knox and Preble in Maine. After the destruction of Cervera's fleet, Colonel Burdett's insistent demand of many weeks' standing that his regiment be reunited and sent southward was complied with, and on July 19, it arrived at Camp Alger, Virginia, where it was assigned to the Second Brigade, Third Division, Second Army Corps. At no time had ball cartridges been issued to the regiment. The first Virginia camp was at Falls Church, close to the spot where Connecticut's first regiments in the Civil War were encamped on the eve of the battle of Bull Run. As the men expected to be ordered to Porto Rico within a day or two, they put up with the execrable conditions at the camp until the unsanitary arrangement had caused much typhoid. Then they were moved to grounds near Dunn Loring where a small pump and a brook furnished the water supply for them and the Third Virginia (2,600 men) for some days or until a driven well could be sunk. The heat was unendurable, the tents greatly overcrowded and practice marches and maneuvers were rendered impossible by regulations.

On August 2, Colonel Burdett was detailed in command of the brigade. The same day there was reorganization

and the regiment was assigned to the Fifth Brigade, with expectation that it soon would sail for the South, but the protocol was signed August 12. Soon thereafter sickness increased rapidly, and the last of August permission was obtained to remove to Niantic for muster out. The men were permitted to return to their homes and to reassemble in Hartford and New Britain for muster out, October 31.

Among the men from the ranks who had won commissions in the army, after passing rigid examination, was Ward Cheney of South Manchester, a recent Yale graduate, who was assigned to the Fourth Infantry, U. S. A., as a lieutenant. His exceptional efficiency and bravery were receiving recognition when he was mortally wounded in the rice fields of the Philippines.

The artillery regiment did duty at Forts Ledyard and Trumbull at New London and detached service at Stonington.

Officers of the Connecticut National Guard who went into the federal service at large were as follows:

Colonel Lucien F. Burpee of Waterbury, judge advocate on the staff of General Miles, and then of General James H. Wilson, in Porto Rico, where he was honorably mentioned for distinguished service in the trial of riotous prisoners and in adjusting the local laws with view to American control; later he was with General Wilson, engaged in organizing in Kentucky and Georgia the army of occupation for Cuba; Lieutenant-Colonel Leonard B. Almy of Norwich, chief surgeon; Lieutenant-Colonel George M. Cole, New London, lieutenant-colonel Fourth U. S. Volunteers (Immunes), service in Cuba; Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick A. Hill, Norwalk, judge advocate general's department; Major William C. Dwight, Hartford, paymaster's department; Major John Hickey, South

Manchester, captain in army, in the Philippines; Surgeon Richard S. Griswold, Hartford, assistant surgeon (killed in the Philippines); Captain Howard A. Giddings, Hartford, captain U. S. Volunteer Signal Corps and acting chief signal officer of Seventh Army Corps; Captain Benjamin Stark, Jr., New London, captain in army, in the Philippines; Captain David Conner, New London, captain in army, in the Philippines; First Lieutenant Rodmond V. Beach, New Haven, adjutant First U. S. Volunteer Engineers (died in Porto Rico); First Lieutenant William F. M. Rodgers, New London, signal corps, in Porto Rico; First Lieutenant Philip E. Fairfield, Hartford, Seventh Army Corps signal corps (died in Jacksonville); First Lieutenant Delbert R. Jones, Meriden, army in the Philippines; Second Lieutenant John Q. Tilson, New Haven, Sixth U. S. Volunteers; Second Lieutenant Theodore Gruener, Hartford, army in the Philippines. Many officers and men in army and navy were born in or appointed from Connecticut.

In the United States Senate, Connecticut was eminent, with General Joseph R. Hawley chairman of the committee on military affairs and Orville H. Platt drafting the terms for American control over Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

MEXICAN BORDER AND TROOPS PROBLEMS

What with its increased possessions in the Pacific and the control of the large part of the West Indies, the treaty with Spain after the war brought recognition of the United States as a world power. For this its navy was in chief part responsible; as for its land forces or leastwise the handling of them, it was obvious that the nation could not have stood a test by a real power. One reason for

this was the increase in the cosmopolitanism of the American citizens. Devotion to the flag, not in itself diminished in a time of stress, was not as comprehensive in 1898 as it was in the North in 1861. There was a vastly greater number of recently adopted citizens, while among the native-born there had been increasing development of the commercial instinct during the long period of peace.

This is revealed by any study of the military establishment. The decline of the regular army, after the Indian campaigns in the West, had not alarmed a people who could see their citizen soldiery close at hand in each state. The "National Guard" was a name which had been adopted by states which had followed Connecticut's example—and here it had been borrowed from the French of former times—but it was a misnomer. Independently of the government, its leaders had worked out a sort of uniformity till, as the next step, they advanced the idea that the guard should be of the nature of a second line of defense, uniformed more nearly alike and agreeing upon the fundamental principles of training. What with the antipathy to a "standing army," the *bête noir* of old-time republics, and the desire to keep down expense, Congress was finally moved to concern itself about this subject. The whole history of the period reviewed, it may not be unjust to say that there were symptoms of an inclination to let a citizen army build up at the expense of individual states; there was survival of the ideas of old Colonial days.

Two things militated against this: First, the framers of the Constitution would seem to have foreseen such a possibility and had limited federal control; second, only a portion of the states encouraged local troops. In Connecticut, the enrolled militia—subject to call in case of

need — was exempt from training and paid a commutation tax to defray expenses for those who did train, or the “active militia;” or, as it is now, a poll tax from which the active militia are exempt. But what with the changing character of the population, it is doubtful whether Connecticut, in common with the other industrial states, could have kept up the standard of the military organization as it had been for fifteen years prior to the Spanish War. With Congress finally awaking to the situation, tentative federal legislation had been begun just prior to that war. The system then evolved was that state troops could be taken over collectively on their volunteering like other citizens when a call came. This worked well where there were trained troops, but clearly not all states would have such, and also states could not be left without home protection. The questions we have noted in 1812 and in 1848 were still open for debate.

The national militia law enacted soon after the Spanish affair offered inducements to the states to co-operate in raising the standard of their militia. Extensive maneuvers, like that at Manassas, Virginia, in 1904, for militia in connection with the regular army, at federal expense, were inaugurated. In this way, incidentally, it was sought to bring about a better understanding between the first and second lines of defense. Southern states marched with those of the North, and all were drilled under the same regulations and wore the same uniform. This was a tremendous step forward. From this to the first “national defense act” was easy, though long in process. While respecting all state rights, the government contributed toward equipment in proportion to effort put forth by the State and gave the benefit of army instructors. The “defense act” was passed on June 3, 1916. On

June 18, President Wilson issued his proclamation for mobilization of the guardsmen to go to the Mexican border and keep Villa, the rebel chieftain, from carrying out his supposed plan to invade the United States, and also to forestall any troubles to this country from the war being waged by Villa against President Carranza's government.

Though few were acquainted with the provisions of the "defense act," the call was responded to without a moment's hesitation. On June 20, on orders from Governor Holcomb through Adjutant-General George M. Cole, the troops reported at Niantic—two infantry regiments, the First commanded by Richard J. Goodman of Hartford, and the Second commanded by Charles F. McCabe of Torrington; Troops A and B of cavalry, commanded respectively by Frank E. Wolf of New Haven and J. H. Kelso Davis of Hartford; battalion headquarters and Batteries A, B, C, D, E and F, Tenth Militia Field Artillery, under command of Colonel Robert M. Danford of New Haven; the First Field Company Signal Troops, Captain George E. Cole, and an ambulance company and a field hospital company—all the state organizations except the regiment of coast artillery, a colored infantry company and the naval militia.

The batteries were sent to Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania. Federal recognition having been withdrawn, that regiment was disbanded as of December 1, the Yale men were released from service and Batteries E of Branford and F of Stamford were sent to El Paso, Texas, there to remain until the next spring. The other commands were ordered to Nogales, Arizona, one-half of which town is across the Mexican border line, and subsequently Troop B was dispatched to Arivaca as an independent post, it having been

selected because of its excellence. This troop when it assembled at rendezvous had not been provided with mounts by the government, on learning which former Governor Morgan G. Bulkeley met the deficiency from his own bank account.

As the "defense act" did not go into effect till July 1, of that year there was some question about operations under it preceding that date (though mustering-in in general was not until early in July), but the disposition was to obey the call. Terrain and climate were endured without complaint by men who at best were restless because their country was not taking part in staying the Germans, and the experience gained was to prove useful the following year—indeed, many believe today that it was largely with that thought that the government ordered the campaign. All but the batteries were back at the home station and mustered out in the fall.

THE WORLD WAR

In the year and a half of America's participation in the World War, April 1917 to November 1918, Connecticut contributed about 60,000 officers and men for the armies of the United States, about 3,000 for armies of allies and about 2,000 men in civil capacity for camp duties. The casualties among the officers and men in the American land forces (naval statistics are not yet available) was 6,265, or almost the total of the state's active militia at the beginning of the war. Citizens without pay to the number of 19,981 who could not go into active service volunteered and trained for suppression of hostile demonstrations and for the protection of life and property within the State (where a large part of the munitions for

all the armies was being manufactured), leading every state in the matter of time and method.

The people of the State subscribed for Liberty bonds to the amount of \$437,476.103 and were given by the government the flag that had floated over the Capitol in Washington on all great occasions during the war, as award for the highest excess above quota of subscriptions attained by any state in the Union.

Connecticut's population in 1917 was 1,300,000. Its militia numbered 6,206 on land and 335 in the naval branch, a total of 6,361; its men of military age, enrolled but outside of the active force, numbered 188,179.

Inasmuch as Connecticut people had thought from the first that America would be drawn into the war and hence were anxious to prepare; inasmuch as certain threads of principle and action locally, noted in the story of the previous wars, can be clearly traced in this; and inasmuch as the points revealed and the honor won on the field of battle are correlative with the State's military story up to 1917, the record would best be presented in three parts: First, the account of home activities and protection; second, the State's part in raising the army by a newly developed method, and third, as the worthy conclusion, the duty performed by the State's troops.

Under part one, then, there were the great industrial and mercantile "preparedness parades" in 1916 together with revival of interest in patriotic history in the schools and at many assemblages, especially among citizens of foreign birth. It is more than a passing coincidence that throughout the war period the State had for Governor Marcus H. Holcomb of Southington, who was of the calibre of Governor Trumbull of the Revolution and of Governor Buckingham of the Civil War. On February 6,

his foresightedness was revealed in a message to the Legislature for a census of the man-power and general resources of the State, arranged for speediest availability. The work was done under the direction of eleven assistants to the Governor, headed by Charles A. Goodwin of Hartford, and was supplemented by a report from George S. Godard, state librarian, on nurses and nurse resources. Subsequently the State Council of Defense was organized along lines suggested from Washington, but far surpassing the model. Richard M. Bissell of Hartford was president of a large body representing all communities and phases of life.

THE STATE GUARD

Averse to exposure of homes and industries to injury by the plentiful German agents, headed by their ambassador and his skilful associates, the Governor could not contemplate with composure the removal of the National Guard for other fields without providing a substitute. On his suggestion, Connecticut was the first of the states to take action for self-protection when the Legislature on March 9, under suspension of the rules and the House singing "America," passed an act creating the Connecticut Home Guard, later renamed the State Guard, under the direction of a Military Emergency Board in conjunction with the Governor. Colonel Lucien F. Burpee of Hartford, judge of the Superior Court and later of the Supreme Court, whose service in the National Guard and in the Spanish War has been noted, was appointed president of the board, and with him Benedict M. Holden of Hartford, a Spanish War and Philippines veteran, who later was depot quartermaster and assistant director of purchase in the quartermaster's corps of the army, and Major J.

Moss Ives of Danbury, from the coast artillery reserve. The following Monday, March 12, the board issued its call for men between 17 and 60, who were not eligible for or who were exempt from active service with the colors.

Not only former guardsmen and officers but citizens of all degree, from bank and insurance presidents and high school principals to men of the humblest trades, responded in such numbers that soon it was necessary to form a reserve corps of the older ones and finally to close recruiting offices. The total enrolment was 19,981, of whom 10,000 were speedily armed and equipped and organized into six large regiments in six districts, under command of officers of military experience, in order of regiments as follows: Colonels Charles W. Burpee, Hartford; J. Richard North, New Haven; Eugene T. Kirkland, New London; Clifford B. Wilson, Bridgeport (also lieutenant-governor); James Geddes, Waterbury, and Joseph T. Elliott, Middletown. A machine-gun battalion was under command of Major Michael F. Owens of Hartford. Francis R. Cooley of Hartford was appointed commander of the naval battalion with Rear Admiral William S. Cowles of Farmington (U. S. N., retired) and Commodore Frank H. Eldridge of Hartford (U. S. N., retired) on the advisory board. Colonel Calvin D. Cowles (U. S. A., retired), late instructor in the Connecticut National Guard, retained his assignment in Connecticut and, in addition to instructing the Trinity College contingent, was on the staff of the president of the board, who had been appointed major-general on suggestion from Washington. Brigadier-General Edward Schulze, assistant adjutant-general, was chief of staff.

Captain Clifford D. Cheney of South Manchester, re-

cently commanding Troop B, Connecticut Cavalry, who was on the staff of the First Regiment, C. S. G., was later lieutenant-colonel, American Expeditionary Forces; Captain J. H. Kelso Davis of Hartford, adjutant of the First, was later major in the ordnance department of the army; Lieutenant-Colonel John J. McMahon of the First became major in the quartermaster corps; Quartermaster Albert M. Simons of Hartford went overseas as a first lieutenant in the 104th Infantry; Quartermaster Thomas P. Abbott of Hartford was appointed captain in the quartermaster corps, and Adjutant Arthur H. Bronson of Hartford, major in that corps. Major Owens became captain in the air service overseas. Hundreds of the men of the earlier enrolments, as changing requirements in enlistment made it possible, went into the regular service and a number of them received commissions. In the meantime, in the earlier days State Guardsmen were working systematically in the campaigns to recruit up the National Guard regiments. And in this work the companies of the Governor's Foot Guard in Hartford and New Haven were very active, many of their own members enlisting and a number of them receiving commissions. Colonel and Mrs. William W. E. A. Bulkeley of Hartford, presented a stand of silk colors to the First Regiment, C. S. G., on Flag Day, 1917. Colonel Bulkeley was doing duty as an enlisted man in the regiment.

With companies drilling almost every night through the summer and winter, on armory floors or on the village greens and in grange halls of almost every hamlet, the companies and the regiment were the nucleus for and leaders in the great parades for Liberty loans, for escort as when the Black Watch battalion from Canada came here on recruiting campaign and the British flag and the

American flag, with their forces, on the Capitol grounds, exchanged salutes for the first time in Connecticut history, or when General Edwards visited Hartford in March, 1919. Constantly practicing quick assembly and transportation and by their activities overawing the disaffected element which at times caused great anxiety, they were comfort and satisfaction especially to the munition plants and the managers of the railroads. Twice at federal summons and six times at state summons they were out on active duty, at which times only did they receive pay. Frequently they were employed by federal authorities through the registration period without formal orders. On one occasion, a detachment of the First turned into a Liberty loan rally a meeting of socialists in a hall where Sunday after Sunday anarchistic speakers had held forth without possibility of state or police interference under the generous laws. (And for this they received earnest letters of commendation from socialist leaders in other states who were for the flag first of all.)

At the close of the war they welcomed home the veterans from overseas and looked to be relieved by a new National Guard. But while their numbers were gradually cut down, they were requested to continue their service—especially in the year 1920 when the “Reds” were terrorizing parts of the country; when a fuse bomb was set off in the Hartford armory on a drill night but with limited damage because of a defect in the bomb, and when literature captured in a Chicago raid read: “Go slow in Connecticut; they have their own troops there”—until March 1921, after Governor Lake’s inauguration. The first Emergency Board had resigned in December and had been succeeded by one of which Colonel Lucius B. Barbour of Hartford was president. Many of the officers

and men passed into the service of the National Guard then forming. The expense to the State had been trifling, consisting chiefly of the cost of subsistence and of transportation to the officers' camp the first summer and to regimental camps for selected numbers the other summers. The rifles, uniforms and other equipment were secured before either the government or sister states had begun to search the market for such things and could have been sold at any moment for many times what was paid for them. The first invoice of overcoats was turned over to the government at cost price for shivering boys in cantonments at a time when the government could get none of that quality anywhere at any price. It was much the same story with ball cartridges. With customary stoicism Governor Holcomb received the comment of a high officer in Washington who for weeks had been scouring the country for spare cartridges for use at training camps and had ascertained on inquiry at Hartford that Connecticut was supplying itself from a lot of them in Washington State, sent there two years previously by enterprising dealers for use by seal-hunters; the brief comment was: "Trust Connecticut to find what's needed."

With his other duties, General Burpee was chairman of the Council of Defense Committee on Defense and Protection and had the supervision of secret service work. Several groups of mischief-makers were broken up without knowledge to the public and the leaders turned over to the government which was to transport them but in reality released them in New Jersey through the assumed authority of a commissioner.

Passing over much of the home activities including the systematic work of providing supplies and relief, in their devotion to which many of the women broke down; in-

cluding the funeral escorts for deceased soldiers; including the efforts of the five-minute speakers and the campaigns of publicity, and including the drives for recruits in the earliest days,—say nothing of the alertness of the Legislature with its enactment among others for the relief of dependents of soldiers and eventually of the \$2,500,000 for the soldiers themselves in lieu of a bonus of a hundred or so dollars each—passing over these evidences of patriotism and common sense, the second part of the record has to do with the matter of furnishing the troops which, as seen, has proved to be an important feature in each war. The federal militia act at the beginning was about the same as that at the time of the Mexican border campaign of the previous year. Connecticut troops were not up to the quota called for under that law, and not a few companies were dangerously near the minimum, but the prospects of field activity were bringing in new men.

RAISING TROOPS

War was not declared, because of what seemed to Connecticut dilatoriness, till April 6, 1917. But on March 25, upon call of President Wilson, the First Regiment, National Guard, and then the other troops were ordered to mobilize, the naval militia being sent to Boston for that purpose and thereafter not to come under the State's official cognizance, due to faulty administration at that post. The cavalry quota called for a squadron of which Major James L. Howard of Hartford was titular commander. By orders of April 13, Troop A of New Haven and Troop B of Hartford began the formation each of an additional troop, L and M. Mobilization for federal service for the troops not already sworn in was ordered

for July 25-28. All complete organizations except the naval militia, had been drafted in on July 12, and stood discharged from the militia as of August 5, when the last of the forces were drafted.

The "volunteer" problem in filling the quota had been long discussed. Federal legislation had resulted in a great awakening to it and the existing federal law was not popular. The experience of the Civil War was recalled when the volunteer method took men from the outset who were needed in home industries and did not disturb the slackers; and then when drafting became necessary it almost proved disastrous. Many spoke out for universal training or an adaptation of the Swiss system. Altogether, therefore, in Connecticut there was a feeling that some equitable system would be devised, and in localities this amounted to a distinct obsession against wholesale volunteering, on the predication that that would delay the admittedly more stringent legislation.

It was the first strong call upon a united nation since 1775, for all its man, industrial and financial power. Militariwise there could be but one determining head, and that head must be in Washington. Congress, among whose members was Lieutenant-Colonel John Q. Tilson of New Haven, formerly of the Second Connecticut Infantry, welcomed aid, the cabinet was counted upon to guide and everywhere among the people it was the shoulder-to-shoulder rule. There was complacency over the military features which included the drafting into federal service of all the approved National Guard units under their own officers. It was preëminently the time when master minds must solve the old, old problem of state sentiment and federal direction, dating back to the founding of the nation.

May 18, 1917, Congress enacted the select service law which provided for "induction" (not "draft") of men selected by lot from classes arranged after a complete and compulsory registration, through personal-history forms, of every citizen between the ages of 21 and 30, for a beginning. Under the direction of Adjutant-General Cole, carefully selected boards of prominent citizens in small assigned districts throughout the State, with volunteer medical examiners and judges on exemptions, worked early and late, to get the registration, divided into four classes as to dependents, physical characteristics, occupation and the like. In Class I were grouped and numbered all who apparently were fit and who could be spared from their homes or occupation without detriment to the general welfare. Selections were made by lot in Washington on quotas duly computed. Further classification of these men to fit them into the various branches of the service for which they were best adapted was undertaken but never carried through. The other classes were graded down to the fourth which would be the "last-resort" men. And the government, with 24,234,021 enrolled and available, had to draw only from Class I—a total of 2,810,296.

The first obstacle was met by the "work or fight" order, which meant that men in the lower classifications who did not work must be transferred to Class I. The next, under international law, was unsurmountable. Aliens, of whom there were many, could not be taken, though by special understanding those from allied nations could enlist for the armies thereof. Nor could it then be said that aliens must become citizens or leave, except in cases of hostile aliens who could be deported. The result was, that good Americans summoned from their homes and profitable work had to see stalwart aliens laughingly take their safe

places and receive the high pay. Many of the better sort of aliens, appreciating the argument that they had chosen America for their home and should protect it, escaped the bitter rancor by procuring citizenship papers.

The State's home troops marched into the armory and arsenal at Hartford the day the National Guard mobilized and came under federal control, March 20. The idea of one great armed body representing America without regard to individual sections was modified by grouping for brigades and divisions. Thus, the New England or "Yankee" Division was the Twenty-sixth, Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, U. S. A., commanding. The Forty-second or "Rainbow" Division comprised men from various states. Numeration of regimental units began with 101, those below 100 being for the regulars. The Third Separate Squadron of cavalry, which it had been intended to expand into a full New England regiment, was changed into the 101st Machine-Gun Battalion under Major James L. Howard. The infantry were in the Fifty-first Brigade under General Peter S. Traub, U. S. A. The two batteries of field artillery, under Captains Ernest L. Averill of Branford and J. Alden Twachtman of Greenwich, became a part of the 103d Field Artillery, Emory T. Smith, U. S. A., colonel. The two infantry companies then in camp at the Yale Field in New Haven—where a large students' training corps had been established—were consolidated into the 102nd with Colonel Ernest L. Isbell of New Haven in command, while Colonel Richard J. Goodman of Hartford with the surplus, 34 officers and 270 men, to be known as the Fifty-eighth Pioneer Infantry, was sent to Charlotte, North Carolina. A handsome stand of colors was presented to the 102nd by Colonel Norris G. Osborn, editor of the "New Haven Journal-Courier," in

behalf of his Yale classmates of the class of 1880. Colonel Isbell made Colonel Osborn recruiting officer for the regiment who selected for his aides Chaplain Orville H. Petty, Lieutenant Charles E. Lockhart, Prof. Charles M. Bakewell of Yale University, Rev. Harrie Starr and Private Mancell Rice. This group was known as "The Flying Recruiting Squadron" and was actively engaged until the day of the regiment's departure.

The ranks of the machine-gun battalion were augmented by 196 men from the old First Vermont Infantry and with them were eight reserve officers from Plattsburg.

The first separate company of infantry (colored) became Company M, 372nd Infantry. Of the coast artillery, part were assigned to batteries overseas and the remainder to companies at Fort Wright and other forts along the coast. The naval militia, now a part of the United States Naval Reserve, was distributed among ships and navy yards. The field hospital men became No. 3, First Sanitary Train; the Ambulance Company, Ambulance Company No. 3, of the same sanitary train; the field signal troops, Radio Company A, 326th Field Signal Battalion. The naval militiamen did not come under the draft but were required to take the oath of the National Naval Volunteers, not to be returned to the naval militia but to be federal reserves.

This was the first division of state troops to go overseas, the infantry sailing from Montreal with convoy September 19, or six months after mobilizing, and the artillery and machine gunners October 9, under a dense screen of secrecy. Colonel Isbell's cable to the Governor announcing safe arrival "somewhere in France" (as was to be the address for all the troops throughout the war) was published by the press for the relief of mind of the rela-

tives of the large body of soldiers. At the moment this caused investigation since regulations were strict to prevent the enemy's learning about movements or whereabouts of troops. However, the censors in both France and England had let the message through, and altogether it developed that the German high command, through its many spies in Connecticut and the Long Island radio, had known of the sailing long before Connecticut people did.

Thus began a record for New England and Connecticut to be the equal of those since 1639. What with the changing of character of population and of ambition, pursuits and certain of the standards, this fact is the most notable in the series. Officers and men in the navy, in the air and in many of the other divisions, including those of the regulars, were to be alike jealous of the record.

The winter overseas was spent in training back of the lines, with gradual approaches to front-line work, at Che-main des Dames, under instruction of the experienced and most grateful French veterans in the war of unequaled frightfulness. Qualifications of officers for the multifarious duties which developed caused some changes in the rosters. On January 11, Colonel Isbell was detailed for special work in the leave area. Colonel John H. Parker of the regulars, well known to many Connecticut men, succeeded him in command. Soon after, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin E. Lamb of Hartford was assigned to the provost marshal department and was put in charge of important activities where to the close of the war he demonstrated the wisdom of those who selected him. The New Haven companies, A and D, of the machine-gun battalion were assigned to the 101st and 103d respectively, of this same division. They were under the command of Cap-

tains Frank E. Wolfe and William H. Welch of New Haven.

SEICHPREY

Stern work at Chemin des Dames fitted the division for the honor of being the first Americans to take over a whole sector, that in the Boucq (or Toul) area on the southeast side of the deep salient Germany had established at the beginning of the war, southerly from Metz and from Verdun defenses. Somewhat east of the center of the sector and a little south from the stream lay the humble village of Seichprey with Beaumont a mile farther south, where Colonel Parker's headquarters were. To the northeast of Seichprey, connected by a country road and a miserable trench—one of the reminders of the earlier days—was Rèmieres Wood and a little back from that, toward the east, Jury Wood where the French line joined. Across the bends in the stream at that point were other woods, full of enemy machine-gun nests. The enemy had the advantage of position, the re-entrants in the line of resistance and the terrain offering opportunity for local attacks.

The old shelters and communications were bad. A brigade of the First Division had done what it could to improve them. The Twenty-sixth relieved this brigade and also a French division and infantry regiment, and withal manned certain batteries of position. The 102nd had been slushing around in the mud here since late March (1918), but the sector had not fully passed till April 3. The division had been booked for a rest area after Chemin des Dames but von Below's ugly thrust down between the British and the French armies had caused the rushing of all available veterans to that point on the western line, and this had included the forces near Seichprey. Nor-

mally a "quiet" sector, now when the crack of doom seemed impending and "Big Bertha" was throwing her shells into Paris, the Germans opposite the 102nd were at least for checking movement of reinforcements to meet the great thrust. Moreover, a little terrorism thrown into the novices from across the water would promote the clean-up from Picardy to Switzerland.

Up near Apremont on April 10-12, the Massachusetts troops had been tested in a hand-to-hand combat which had won for them a decoration for their state flag from the French corps commander, Passaga,—the first time such honor had been conferred upon Americans. Part of the 101st Machine-gun had a hand in that brilliant affair. The kaiser would prepare somewhat better for his next test of the gawky Americans. He would confuse them with small raids, beginning April 15, and much heavier artillery, materially reinforced. After practicing behind his own lines, he would send one of his specially trained "storm battalions" and open the way to strike Verdun in reverse at this moment when Haig was delivering to the shattered British his famous "backs-to-the-wall" message.

Nervously the Americans shifted their units along the Beaumont front. The best that could be done was to draw back from the original 1914 line two points of resistance widely apart, with one company and machine detachment in Seichprey (battalion headquarters) and northwesterly and one in Rèmieres Wood to the east. These two companies were to hold out against assault, and as they were there simply to mark the enemy's intent, they were not to expect reinforcement. They were two permanent pins in the map. Back of them a thousand yards was the main position, held by two companies, and

away to the left was another battalion, while a third battalion was in reserve, back with the machine guns.

The Third Battalion (Captain Clarence M. Thompson of Wethersfield) had been holding the advanced stations. Orders to relieve it with the First Battalion (Major George J. Rau of Hartford) were executed late in the evening of April 19, a nerve-trying moment, for "Fritz" chose such times for his attacks, and there was evidence enough that he was plotting mischief. It so happened that Rau was born in Lorraine at a village not many miles from this position, but from childhood he had lived in Burnside, a Hartford suburb, and after a term in the regular army he had attested his soldierly proficiency in the National Guard. In the battalion were Companies A of Waterbury (Captain William J. Shanahan); B from Hartford and New Haven (First Lieutenant Swanson); C from New Haven and Middletown (Captain Alfred H. Griswold of New Britain); and D of Bristol and New Haven (Captain George C. Freeland of New Haven). The Second Battalion (Captain Harry B. Bissell of South Manchester) had the position on the left, its Company E to keep in touch with the right. As customary Captain Thompson, while the men of his battalion went back to reserve, remained in the trenches with some of his officers, including Captain Arthur F. Locke of Hartford, Company M, a popular young officer of Vermont birth, to explain to the relieving officers after daylight the characteristics of the positions.

The relief was completed without incident at 1 in the morning. The new company thus established in and near Seichprey was D, and the company in Rèmieres Wood (if one may call a few acres of shelltorn stumps and tangled underbrush in a swamp a "wood" otherwise than

on a meticulous military map) was C, both companies out there alone with no aid to be offered should the enemy make good his threats of the preceding forty-eight hours. A and B took the line nearer Beaumont. Colonel Parker sought to allay his anxiety by studying his meagre means of communication and smoking his constant pipe.

At 3:15 in the morning, before the men had had time to familiarize themselves with their surroundings in the darkness, came what was worse than anybody could have imagined. Upon Seichprey and the woods and back to Beaumont fell a concentrated storm of heaviest shells which in eight minutes destroyed all means of communication with headquarters by wire or runners, crushed out practically the last vestige of shelters, burying the men in them, and withal poured in mustard and all other kinds of gas which an impotent civilized world had been protesting against. Rocket signals from the front were obeyed by artillery which was suffering with the rest, but for two hours the enemy granted no respite in his bombardment. When heavy fog set in at daybreak and the survivors in the trenches were all the more on the *qui vive* came the "shock troops," supported by two infantry battalions, following a barrage. They were in three columns, one on the Connecticut men's left, one on the east along the woods and one in the center between C and D. It was 3,000 of the Germans' choicest against two companies, or 400 men as they numbered before the bombardment. On through fog and smoke they rushed into Seichprey, side and rear, seizing prisoners, reversing trenches to meet counter attack, setting contact mines and even running telephone wires. This was not a raid; the enemy intention, as revealed, was to hold and organize.

Captain Locke met the Germans swarming into his

trench as he was stepping from his dugout after the barrage. If he could stop those in advance some of his men might escape. He made each cartridge in his automatic find its mark before he fell.

Freeland, on the outskirts of Seichprey, would throw out a hand grenade the enemy had tossed into the trench; it exploded in his hand and he received wounds from which he died after being taken prisoner. Griswold, still unfamiliar with his location, tried to arrange his platoons as the barrage came over. Going from one to another, he ran through the barrage and then passing back through it found himself a prisoner in the hands of three of the Germans. Coolly accepting his fate, he started back with them when he found an opportunity to trip one, knock down the other as a shell burst, and evade the third before that one could recover his slow wits. Lieutenant Benjamin C. Byrd of Hartford, Company D, standing his ground to make sure of the course to be pursued for the best service by his detachment, fell into the hands of the enemy.

In the village Major Rau was waiting for no communication with headquarters nor meditating surrender. Though momentarily stunned by a piece of shell which dented his "tin hat," he proceeded to organize orderlies, cooks, clerks and twenty regulars who had been left as prisoners by the First Division when quitting the sector, and, in formation not set down in "Infantry Drill Regulations," was at the "shock troops" with carving knives, bayonets, pistols, clubs and bare fists. The German plays the game by set method, as rehearsed behind the lines; variations astound the men and disgust the officers. The "shock troops" were shocked; terrorism changed sides. Even so in the woods. The German moment of easy cap-

turing turned to grief and distress as the boys from farms, shops and stores of Connecticut found which was right and which was left, disregarded "Boche" commands to surrender and went on fighting. Around one machine gun was found a circle of lifeless Germans with the gun's crew dead in the center, one with his finger on the trigger, another holding an empty feed clip—the last they had. In Company E, off at the left, eight wounded men were all that survived of the platoon of Lieutenant Charles E. Lockhart of New Haven, and they held their combat post to the end.

Colonel Emerson G. Taylor of Hartford (and he was with Colonel Parker that night, being then adjutant of the 102nd) in his "New England in France" says: "Combat troops were killed, fighting to the last man, at their posts. Surrounded, there was many a lad who, summoned to surrender, fought with clubs and broken rifle, and when overpowered still struggled with his captors—as was told by the Germans themselves months later. For every prisoner taken, the enemy paid in good measure." "Stunned by a bombardment of terrific intensity, their defenses in ruins, with no hope of reinforcement, with only uncertain connection with their artillery, the Yankee infantry recovered its organization and fought successfully to a stand-up finish."

And thereby made "Seichprey Day," to be honored in Connecticut towns.

The French corps commander was at brigade headquarters fearful of a grand thrust. A counter attack was ordered for the morning of the 21st. General Traub, brigade commander, designated a battalion to lead the attack in conjunction with French companies. No reports came in from patrols and anxiety deepened, but morning re-

vealed that the enemy had had enough and had retired beyond the reach of our efficient artillery. They admitted 600 casualties and they abandoned a large amount of supplies. The American casualties were about 360—fifty per cent of the units most actively engaged—and 130 were captured. A German major quizzed the prisoners laughingly, named various Connecticut officers familiarly and altogether revealed intimate knowledge of our troops. Such was the skill in gaining information, largely through men sent over to serve in our camps.

In Connecticut there were spies in many communities furnishing most minute data, German fashion. Some of them were apprehended and put under surveillance; others were turned over to the federal authorities with sequel never known. For the American side, meetings of "reds" and pro-Germans were attended and reported by reliable men, but the government was loath to use the heavy hand.

AISNE-MARNE

After weeks of raids and counter-raids and wishing that America had planes to go against the enemy's squadrons, the division found itself in Toul for a well earned rest. But on June 30 it was entraining for what proved to be the Aisne-Marne defensive against the advertised deadliest thrust of all, and then for participation in Foch's wonderful start to break the Hindenburg Line by crashing upon the right flank of von Boehn near Chateau Thierry, thereby defeating the plan to achieve an early and complete conquest. It was not a time for Americans to enjoy rest.

As the hour for momentous battle approached, Connecticut common sense could not reconcile itself to constant drains on the division for instructors for training camps;

officers and non-commissioned officers were detached without replacements. Also it was being remarked that when vacancies were created they were somewhat frequently filled by transfer from other organizations and that the consequent discouragement to ambition was intensified by the occasional failure of the new officer to prove efficient enough to retain his position. The special misfortune was that it fanned the embers of the dying fires; expression once more was heard that there should be thought for the men who marched as well as for the good fellows who were hoping for the star on their sleeves before it should be too late. But the good soldier goes on about his work, serene in the belief, like the Colonials in the early wars, that wrongs will be righted "after this." To use the Yankee expression, there was "one thing about it anyhow," and that was that the replacement troops at this time were of a good sort — and sorely needed.

As for promotions, three about this time gave Connecticut men much satisfaction. On July 10, Major Howard was appointed division machine-gun officer, in which capacity he had been serving for some time, and Captain Morgan G. Bulkeley, Jr., was appointed to succeed him in command of the 101st Machine-gun Battalion. On July 16, General Traub, promoted to be major-general, was succeeded by George H. Shelton, U. S. A., a very popular Seymour boy, now made brigadier-general. The division became a part of Liggett's First Corps, (in Degoutte's Sixth French Army), the division consisting of the Fifty-first Brigade, 101st and 102nd Infantry and 102nd Machine-gun Battalion; Fifty-second brigade, 103d and 104th Infantry and 103d Machine-gun; Fifty-first Field Artillery, including the 103d Field Artillery

with 155mm. howitzers; and 101st Machine-gun, 101st Engineers and 101st Field Signal as special troops.

On the eve of the second battle of the Marne, Foch in supreme command was planning his "miracle." At the first Marne, in 1914, Kluck in passing Paris to crush the allied armies acted on the supposition that there was nothing around Paris that could strike his exposed right flank; in over-confidence, he deceived himself, to the destruction of his plans. The mighty Ludendorf was now making a similar blunder. Foch was watching for it.

In nearly every household and office in Connecticut were maps of France, many of them dotted with colored pins to indicate the movements of the armies. Names might be unpronounceable and sectional maps bewildering, but interest was intense. The stoutest-hearted were beginning to despair. We may conceive the territory held by the Germans in July—if painted black on the map—as a huge beast with a human face looking west. The low forehead began at Nieuport on the North Sea; Ypres was the deepset eye which Canadians stubbornly kept open; thence downward the large, well rounded nose; the mouth at Arras, and below it the bulging chin with Amiens at the point, made by the late Picardy thrust. The Noyon section formed the bulging neck and chest. The thick stump of the front leg, rapidly developed a few weeks before, rested on Château Thierry on the Marne, threateningly near Paris. The line of the inner side of it ran back northeasterly around Rheims and thence along the lower side of the body easterly down to the rear leg or stump, the Saint Mihiel salient south of Verdun. Epernay was below Rheims, almost on a line with the ends of the legs. Foch estimated rightly that the final thrust would be toward Epernay from the front leg and from east of

Rheims, after which the body of the beast would perforce cover all France. Or, from Ludendorff's viewpoint, the space between the legs made an allies' salient into his territory which must be cut out. So obviously was this Ludendorff's only remaining move that it was given wide advertisement and in Germany was called the "drive which would compel peace."

Both French and British armies having been worn down and slow-coming Americans not a factor to reckon with, Ludendorff like Kluck before him felt he could afford to risk attack on his right flank, from the front side of the front leg (or salient), after placing a few divisions there. Foch placed enough on those lines of his which he thought would be attacked to hold on for a time, and then brought together secretly all he could get of the Americans, even some British from the north, and the pick of the French, for the surprise.

Foch had been observing. The Americans had begun arriving in small numbers in May and June, (1917),—a contingent of the First Division regulars, with which was Lieutenant-Colonel G. Arthur Hadsell of Plainville, being the first; the Second Division in August, the Twenty-sixth in September, Forty-second in November, Forty-first (replacements) in December, Thirty-second in February, (1918), Third and Fifth in March, and the Seventy-seventh, Fourth and Twenty-eighth in May. The marshal had noted the quality of these troops, especially at Cantigny, Seichprey and in that last fearful drive to the Marne, when men like Lieutenant Caldwell Colt Robinson of the Marine Corps, a Hartford officer, had given their lives fearlessly, as he did near Château Thierry on June 26. And he had marked this quality in eager Americans who came to aid the allies even before this country en-

tered the war, men like Major Raoul Lufberry of Wallingford, who had won in aviation the high medals of England and France and who, ace with eighteen planes to his credit, as commander of the Lafayette Escadrille, lost his life in an engagement with a Fokker plane near Toul on May 19, after a year's service, the last half of it under American enrolment.

By July the Americans had been grouped and the Fourth was fittingly marked by Liggett's taking over the tactical command of the First Corps with the 167th French Division—the first distinctly American command in the war and the first time since the Revolution that French troops had been under American command. For the chirking-up of the French legions as well as for inuring the rather over-zealous Americans, Foch mingled the French and American divisions for the immediate well veiled purposes. Posting Americans on the south with French between, he placed the Twenty-sixth division with right at Vaux, just northerly of Thierry, and the left up beyond historic Belleau Wood, in the line that ran northeasterly for many miles. In the woods and valleys behind this line, by night he gathered reserves for use if he found the chance to take the offensive.

The landscape was beautiful but gruesome and being made more gruesome, for the enemy was storming with gas and shell and air bombs, while von Boehn deliberately prepared for the on-rush that might be toward Paris. June 15 he started, toward Paris but inclining toward Epernay while Foch's lines easterly and southerly felt the titanic surge in the same direction. Not alone to map-readers in America but to officers of high rank along those lines, it seemed the beginning of the end. At the foot of the salient the Americans, and along the lines the French,

held. Illustrative of the American grit was the case of Lieutenant Arthur E. Westphal of Connecticut, who received the distinguished service cross for the manner in which with his Stokes mortar detachment he stopped the German advance across the Marne at Fossoy. But this could not last long. Would battalions come to aid?

On July 18, Foch answered, with a push not from in front but in the opposite corner of the square, up toward Soissons, the center of the German line of supplies. The right of the Twenty-sixth, at the lower end of the line, waited for the long left to come perpendicular with the north and south line on which its own right rested, and then all swept southward. They were more and stronger than von Boehn had expected—leastwise than he could deal with. By July 20, in continuous combat, it was the right that was turning on the left extremity as a pivot, cleaning out of the pocket those who had not already stolen back beyond the Ourcq, then the Vesle and finally, after long days of no rest, the Aisne. Spectacular as any of the three grand drives of the Germans, the significance was in this, that, at last equal in number of combatants and with increasing preponderance of artillery as the Americans came in, the almost exhausted allies had taken the initiative, and not again was it to pass from them. July 18 did mark the beginning of the end—the end of German supremacy.

Connecticut's part was humble, grueling, calculated to dismay. To begin with, Foch's method diverged widely from the traditions of the "western front." Secrecy had pervaded. Even high officers did not know long in advance what was to be done and how. There were no preliminary bombardments to announce to each doughboy in the ranks what the next item would be. Corps com-

manders had little knowledge of the condition of roadways and terrain. Resultant confusion and here and there hesitancy might have been disastrous to a smaller army. Foch had discounted this,—his purpose was to have the mass acquire the impetus which makes unwieldiness negligible. Never in history had the opportunity been furnished on such a scale, and it would not have been furnished now but for the American accretion; Foch perceived the unprecedented, and therein lay his “miracle.”

But it was hard fighting. Confidence in superiors often had to be replaced, especially among green troops, with a spirit of emulation, and that was trying for conscientious officers. As has been seen, some of the more dependable officers and non-commissioned officers had been sent back to coach in home camps and some had been incapacitated in the strenuous days of continuous alertness before the advance. A valuable officer at division headquarters had been removed in this latter way on July 13. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard of the Connecticut forces, infantryman originally, as citizen soldier, then cavalryman by choice and now machine-gunner by force of World War circumstances, he had mastered the science of the spitfire which was so conspicuous in the story of the war. As division machine-gun officer he was inspecting a line of posts placed forward of the infantry and the artillery zone, near Vaux, where there were no trenches, when he was struck by a piece of shell and put off duty till the 22nd.

When its turn came the Yankee Division went on with a rush, stormed Torcy, Bouresches and Belleau and swept the heights of Gonetrie Farm, when it found itself ahead of the French on its left and had to pause. Again and again was it to find hindrance from some cause to its imperative orders and personal desire to keep in contact

with the fleeing enemy, and likewise to learn that the enemy was an expert in rear-guard action. The 102nd, in the Fifty-first Brigade which had the extreme or pivot end of the whole long line, was held in leash till the 20th. With the enemy in full retreat, Dégoutte, Sixth Army commander, wrote his praises of the action with an especially loud word for the "American audacity" of the Twenty-sixth Division. Now the artillery would be out-distanced or uncertain of its zone and machine guns would be sent ahead, only to demonstrate that such guns are not adapted for direct offensive and that artillery pounding must come first. There were many costly lessons, much struggle against adverse conditions, not least of which were confusing orders from corps headquarters, due to changes in circumstances over the whole vast field, and also, appreciably, to lack of appreciation of local conditions on a fast-moving front with roughest lines of communication and transport. Battalions of Rau, Bissell and Thompson, hurrying to their tasks, as along the Trugny and Epieds lines, found themselves unsupported by heavy guns or, sometimes, by other infantry, and charges were made where enemy's nests were thick and nothing to break them up. Lieutenant Henry A. Reicke of Meriden (102nd), who led his men through machine-gun fire after having been wounded three times, and Lieutenant John R. Feegal of Meriden, who when his company was held up went forward alone and shot the machine-gunner with his revolver, furnished instances of experience along the front which brought success and distinguished-service crosses.

Night-and-day work and casualties were having their effect when illustration was furnished of the confused conditions. The troops were exhausted. July 23 word

came that two regiments of the Fifty-sixth Brigade (Pennsylvania) of the Twenty-eighth Division were sent up to reinforce, for that day only; also the Twenty-sixth was to cover the whole corps front. Immediately steps were taken to have the Fifty-first Brigade assume the division front and the Fifty-second, reinforced, relieve the French 167th Brigade. While this was in process, orders arrived for an immediate attack by the Twenty-sixth and the French division, and, soon after, word that the whole Fifty-sixth Brigade was to be dispatched for use in driving ahead promptly. Meantime, on this evening of the 23d, the reinforcements had been hurried forward to the Fifty-second Brigade. When the new brigade appeared, after a forced march, it was found to be without rations and that it naturally had no knowledge of the locality; it was hurried along in order that all would be ready for the attack at 4 A. M. At dawn it had not had time enough to get into position and obviously the attack must be delayed, though that might seriously discommode the whole line. The French, however, had found that the enemy had withdrawn, whereupon it became necessary for the Fifty-first and Fifty-sixth (the Fifty-second relieved) to pursue rapidly. The 101st Machine-gun Battalion, like cavalry, speeded in its motors to harry the retreating foe. By late afternoon (of the 24th) the 102nd had reached the edge of La Fêre Forest, the machine guns were checked and there was bivouac till reconnoissance and deployment from column could be effected at daybreak.

And by now message had come from division headquarters that that night the Forty-second Division would be on hand to relieve the Twenty-sixth, pursuit to be resumed at dawn. At midnight a delayed order arrived for pushing on at 2 o'clock for the capture of Sergy by the

corps as a whole, whose front this division was supposed to be covering. Colonel Shelton pointed out to Colonel Major, the division chief of staff who had arrived soon after the message, the impossibility of executing this order on top of all the others—and yet every unit of the command would have gone forward in some manner, with the Forty-second following up to relieve, had the announcement of the actual hour for starting (or “H” hour) ever been made. In the afternoon of the 25th the relief by the Forty-second was completed for all except the signal troops, ammunition train and the artillery which was to share in the laurels bestowed upon that arm of the service for excellent and long continued duty till August 4. Since July 18, the division had gained nearly twelve miles. The division casualties numbered 20 per cent of its strength. The 102nd lost 139 killed and 440 wounded.

One of the most severe losses was that of Major Rau of the 102nd, whose bravery at Seichprey had been officially recognized by the conferring of the *croix de guerre* and the gold star with corps citation, and whose work at Epieds was soon to be recognized by bestowal of the distinguished-service cross. While the battalions were lying in La Fêre Foret the early morning of July 25, with heavy shell fire and volumes of gas around them, expecting to go into action at dawn, the major was struck by a shell.

In the reorganization following the campaign, while in the Châtillon area, Colonel Parker was transferred and was succeeded by another excellent officer, Colonel Hiram I. Bearss of the Marine Corps. General Pershing had now carried his point that there should be a distinct American army (the First American) and had asked: First, that he be given permission to pinch off the St. Mihiel

salient and that then he be given the Verdun end of the battle line the whole length from the North Sea which Foch had outlined in a conference July 24, when he was confident that thereafter the initiative would be his. The main attacks would have to be made at the ends of the Hindenburg line along Germany's front, to bottle up the enemy and to cut off his retreat at the southern extremity. Foch estimated that the campaign would run on into the summer of 1919.

More American soldiers fought in the Aisne-Marne battle than in any previous army of the United States. Over 175,000 were engaged or more than the armies of Lee and Grant combined at Gettysburg. By the close of the campaign, Pershing's army had had 50,000 casualties (the Twenty-sixth Division 5,300), but had taken 10,000 prisoners out of the total of 35,000 in all, and more than 150 guns. By the end of October, America had landed 1,200,000 men in France and twenty-nine of the forty-two divisions got into action, or the equal of fifty-eight divisions on the British basis. On Armistice Day, Pershing was to have more troops than the British and to hold a longer line. Of course it is remembered that France and England had been in the war three years longer and had stood up against Germany's strongest and freshest.

SAINT MIHIEL

The first American offensive was aimed at the Saint Mihiel salient. The right to claim a place of honor in the general offensive was there to be attested. The salient, which had been fought over several times in the earlier days, was too strong to be attacked from the west. Accordingly the northwest corner, near Les Eparges, was selected, while the First Division pierced the southeast

corner, and the two sections of the army were to meet at Vigneulles, south of Hattonchâtel Hill which commanded wide territory. It was the greatest American army ever assembled; its acting force at the time was less than 300,000 but it had reserves of 430,000 Americans and 70,000 French. The Fifth Corps, General George H. Cameron, was selected for the drive from the northwest. In it were the Twenty-sixth Division, the Fifteenth French Colonial and the Fourth American, but only the Twenty-sixth was to go on through the salient to meet the First.

September 12 was Pershing's birthday. On that day the artillery which had been assembling for weeks with all the camouflage that man could devise gave the heaviest bombardment on record for seven hours. Our troops then crossed the remnants of trenches, following a barrage, and the next forenoon met the First Division at Vigneulles. The salient was no more. The prisoners numbered 16,000, captured guns, 443; material, enormous amounts; and the American loss only 7,000. Foch was writing to Pershing: "The American First Army under your command has achieved in the first day a magnificent victory by a maneuver which was as skilfully prepared as it was valiantly executed." German intelligence officers of the high command, in their report, praised the artillery and the co-ordination of artillery and infantry. Pershing at that hour might well have repeated his words when he first stood by Lafayette's tomb: "Lafayette, we are here."

The Connecticut troops were among those who had been soaked through and through the night of the great bombardment which had begun at 1 o'clock. The division, on going over at 8 o'clock, was to follow the main highway southeasterly, to the intermediate objective near

Saint Remy, there to halt and reorganize. In the column, the 102nd and the 101st Machine-gun Battalion were in reserve. The point designated was reached at 10:15. The Senegalese of the French Colonials had met with resistance which delayed them. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon orders from the corps commander directed the division to assist the French in advancing and a plan was arranged by the French general and General Edwards for clearing this part of the Meuse heights. Arrangements had been completed when a telephone message from corps headquarters directed the division to push straight on through the dense forest by the highway to Vigneulles. Instantly word was sent to all commanders, and by 9:30 in the evening the march was resumed. The battalion commanded by Captain Clarence M. Thompson of the 102nd was chosen to lead through the darkness with unknown but quite imaginable conditions in the woods on each side. Flankers were out of the question; it was a matter of go and stop for nothing. The machine-gun men, having had to abandon their motor cars in the shell-torn ground of the earlier stages, carried their guns by hand. There had been considerable trouble from machine-gun nests, "pill boxes" of solid concrete, and concealed infantry when coming through the trench area, but it had been overcome cleverly and quickly. While significant sounds could be heard in these woods, the enemy was not in mood to molest seriously. Which was well, for "Hiking Hiram," the 102nd's colonel, was rushing on in column of squads on the heels of Captain Thompson's men. Tactically it would have been an easy column to molest.

The orders were to make Hattonchâtel by morning; they were there at 2 o'clock and in Vigneulles at 3. Both towns were ablaze. Patrols with machine-gun support got

in touch with the First Division at Heudicourt later in the morning. The First had had a hard battle but had maneuvered so well that such famous strongholds as Mont Sec had been rendered harmless, and the signal corps films show the enemy in wild retreat from Saint Mihiel and all other points the Germans had held for nearly four years. Natives in great glee assisted the Yankees in nailing up new street and road signs in place of those which had borne famous German names, the Americans substituting the names of their favorites.

One incident occurred to mar the general rejoicing, due to failure in liaison or intercommunication between lines and departments. It may be excusable on the ground that no one had expected that the 102nd and the gunners would be appearing in Vigneulles so early in the morning. American air-planes spying them and taking them for Germans began dropping bombs among them and thirty were wounded.

General Cameron particularly praised the 102nd for pushing on late in the evening five miles to Vigneulles through woods infested by the enemy, capturing 280 prisoners and completing its mission before daylight. "The main roads of the salient were cut off, and no more of the enemy could escape. This fine example of courage and soldierly acceptance of battle conditions is worthy of emulation. The corps commander congratulates them and looks forward with confidence to a continuation of their good work." A. Leclerc, curé of Rupt-en-Woevre, in a letter of appreciation to General Edwards said: "Several of your comrades lie at rest in our truly Christian and French soil. Their ashes shall be cared for as if they were our own. We shall cover their graves with flowers and shall kneel by them as their own families would do, with

a prayer to God to reward with eternal glory these heroes fallen on the field of honor, and to bless the Twenty-sixth Division and generous America."

MARCHEVILLE AND HONORS

By order of Foch the campaign was limited to what had been accomplished, for he had other plans in mind than the capture of Metz which looked to the army to be such an easy matter now: like a good commander, it was armies and not towns that he wished to seize. So the Germans with their artillery stole back to the vicinity of Marcheville, Riaville and neighboring towns on the Meuse heights. There were one or two lively brushes for the 102nd. As a preliminary to the general offensive and to mislead as to Foch's real point of attack at this end of the Hindenburg line, the orders were to go out and occupy some of these towns in the daytime, returning at night. To the Americans more than to the French, the purport was to deceive the enemy by really strong demonstrations. Accordingly two columns of infantry, machine guns, Stokes-mortar men, engineers, signal men and sanitary trains, all under Colonel Bearss, were sent out to take Riaville and Marcheville with the trench line between them. Batteries were brought down from the heights to the plain to make the usual preparation, which they did for several hours or until 5:30 A. M. September 26. Clearly enough the enemy's suspicions were aroused. He was ready for the columns with much artillery and enough machine guns to turn any but experienced men one side. Colonel Bearss himself, accompanied by a group of officers from headquarters, went out between the two columns, one of which was to take each of the two towns. Similar activity by the French was to divert attention, but

according to their interpretation of the plan they were to go out and seize and then come back, which they did, early.

The 102nd's battalion under Major Clarence M. Thompson of Saint Mihiel fame, had worked its way into Marcheville at 9 o'clock and all was well till nearly noon when artillery fire was concentrated and the 200 survivors of the morning fight were driven back into the west part of the village, seeking such cover as could be had, to be followed soon by a large body of enemy infantry. Colonel Bearss and his party had been the first in the entrenched town and had established themselves in a German "post of command" in a strong concrete dugout. The dugout, however, had nearly collapsed under the shell fire and one of the men sent for duty with them there had been killed and others wounded. Captain Charles W. Comfort of New Haven, regimental surgeon, had gone out into the trenches in front of the town where men were being wounded and had remained with them under fire, rendering much service. Lieutenant John Humbird of Spokane, Washington, had crawled around to the rear of a "pill box" which had held up the officers, and had killed the three machine-gunners there, had captured their infantry support of seven, and since then had been in and out of the dugout during the rain of shells, visiting his machine-gun posts and instituting anti-air-craft defense as coolly as though doing office work at home. Major Lewis of the regular infantry had been assisting in organizing the defense and Lieutenant Paul H. Hines, assistant adjutant of the 102nd, had dared the fire zone to establish liaison with the 103d's battalion in Riaville which also was having a hot engagement. Captain Frederick A. Oberlin of Company B, 102nd, who already had won his *croix de guerre* and Captain Horace Z. Landon of the 101st Engineers,

out on specific missions, were given up for dead but, it was learned weeks later, were captured.

When the bombardment paused for the advance of the enemy infantry, the officers hurried from their dugout but found the enemy already between them and their own forces. With the two machine-guns which they had, the party of sixteen got into a small trench and under the direction of the colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard organized defense. Five of the men were shot through the head. After an hour of this, the remaining eleven crawled back to one side, rolled through a brook and reached the supporting battalion. Not to attempt to retire with the enemy in possession of the town, a counter attack was organized. For this there fortunately was a reinforcement of forty men led by Lieutenant Frank K. Linton of the 101st Engineers, who himself was astounded when he saw the officers. An incident of the morning in the dugout had been the adjusting of the former German wire service to get word back to headquarters. When later these wires were cut in the bombardment and runners with messages to direct the artillery were killed, Linton had volunteered and had pushed through to the guns. Then he had heard from a litter bearer that the party had been surrounded, had hastily secured this detail and had come to the rescue.

Taking part in the counter attack, Linton was wounded through both arms. Withdrawal was delayed while Lieutenant Hines went out after him. It developed that the ball had pierced his lungs and he died before the litter bearers could reach our lines. Altogether it was after 7 o'clock before rocket signals called for an artillery barrage, by aid of which the whole expedition got back to their quarters at Saulx. While this was not a "major

engagement," it serves admirably to indicate the type of officers and men in the service.

Many received recognition of their valor that day. Colonel Howard was honored with the *croix de guerre* with palm, awarded by General Petain, was cited in division general orders, received the distinguished-service medal and on May 14, 1919, after his other services, on the general staff and as assistant chief of staff of the division, and including detail to the Army General Staff College at Longres (November to January), he was to be made chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the president of France. Captain Comfort had received the distinguished-service cross with oak leaf for thirty-six continuous hours of work in attending the wounded at Seichprey and now he was given the *croix de guerre* with palm. On request of the French general commanding the corps, there was citation for the whole of Major Thompson's battalion and decoration of the colors.

In the increasing list of honors in the division, history would be incomplete if it did not include the name of the chaplain of the regiment, Major Orville H. Petty of New Haven. He maintained well the traditions of chaplains in all the wars since the days when the Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford was chaplain in the first of Connecticut's wars, the war against the Pequots. The chaplain was decorated with the *croix de guerre* for his especially meritorious services in the troublous days immediately following the Seichprey engagement.

The Rev. Dr. Ernest deF. Miel of Trinity Church, Hartford, and the Rev. Charles E. Hesselgrave of Manchester ("attached welfare workers" of the 101st Machine-gun, with Miss Anna deLacy Cary of Wethersfield) were among the many who at one time and another

devoted themselves to bringing joy and comfort to the men on duty. The Rev. James P. Sherry of Peabody, Massachusetts, a Roman Catholic clergyman, was another most welcome attendant. The Rev. John Brownlee Vorhees of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church of Hartford, on Y. M. C. A. service, was mortally wounded by a shell when he was assisting others in a shelter that had come under range.

Connecticut soldiers in other organizations were likewise receiving honors. Corporal George N. Brigham of Rockville, named after his grandfather who was one of the heroes of the Fourteenth Connecticut at Gettysburg, was in the Forty-seventh United States Infantry. At Thiabou, in August, he penetrated the enemy's lines with one man, killed two Germans in a dugout, located a troublesome machine-gun emplacement, was wounded and completed his mission before obtaining first aid, for which he received the "D. S. C." In all, ninety-six of the D. S. C. have been issued to men of Connecticut.

While the division continued in this Troyon sector, after Saint Mihiel, there were several changes of command, one of the most notable of which was the commissioning of Major John Alden Twachtman to be colonel of highly praised 103d Field Artillery. Twachtman, who was born in Cincinnati, is a resident of Greenwich. He served in the Connecticut Naval Militia at the time of the Spanish War, and enlisted in Battery F of the Tenth Militia Field Artillery in 1916, going out with it as second lieutenant for the Mexican border and coming back as captain, which position he held when the battery went into the World War.

THE MEUSE-ARGONNE BATTLE

September 26, the date of the Marcheville affair, was also the day on which Pershing set out for Sedan—and it may well be called, therefore, the first engagement of that historic march on the extreme right. To appreciate what the work of Connecticut men the next few weeks was to contribute to the venture one must get a grasp of the full situation at the moment. It has been told what Foch planned for the early overthrow of "*Germany Ueber Alles*" and what part Pershing asked for in the final stroke, the Verdun sector, the right of the line extending from the North Sea. Foch had 4,000,000 men. At the extreme left in Belgium were the British and one French army; in the center, French armies; on the right, Gouraud's Fourth Army west of the Argonne, and then the American First Army east of it and west of the Meuse. Pershing had to spare six of his divisions—two each to Haig, Gouraud and Dégoutte. He was further handicapped at the outset by the absence of veterans who were resting after the harder fighting in the Saint Mihiel campaign, and altogether he had to allow for many green troops, including replacements in old divisions who were none of the best; for some reason, in the 250,000 a month now reported as coming over from America, details were made of men who had never had a rifle in their hands, even while there were troops along the seaboard who were wondering why they could not "get across." But it was all a part of the unprecedentedly great proposition with no time to discuss "flies in the ointment." Foch's attacks were to be made on the ends of the long lines at the most suitable and strategic points.

It is no disparagement of the brave men in the last

heart-rending attacks to recall, what afterwards was made so prominent, that the morale of the German armies in the main was broken. Ludendorf's own assignment of reasons for this reveals an embittered soul clinging still to the belief that the German soldier is unconquerable. Exhortations in behalf of the fatherland published by the officers of high command, to the effect that if the soldiers stood to their duty "the enemy's attack will, as heretofore, break against our firm will to hold," surely seemed to have influence along the American army's front where France had once persisted with her immortal "They shall not pass."

Pershing's task was to go northward from Verdun and cut the Montmèdy-Mézierès railway, the principal line of retreat for the enemy. Foch thought he could get no farther than the fortress of Montfaucon that fall. The Americans were there and on, even to the Hindenburg line itself, before they suffered serious check, just short of the Kriemhilde line. In that Montfaucon fight the heroism and endurance for which the colonel of the Fourth Infantry, regulars, received his D. S. C. illustrates the kind of fighting there was and the character of the men who proved equal to it. This was Colonel Halstead Dorey of South Manchester. His citation tells the whole story in a few words: His men were exhausted after twelve days of constant fighting with heavy losses; he himself, though badly wounded, went through the barrage to the front line and reorganized his forces. For further aid in getting a conception of the magnitude of the scale it may be said that at Pershing's opening cannonade there were 3,000 guns engaged and in three hours more powder was burned than in the whole Civil War.

The Twenty-sixth Division was called from the Troyon

sector to the shell-marked hills north and east of Verdun on October 10, to relieve the Eighteenth Division of the Seventeenth French Corps, and to force the Germans from their points of advantage at the northern extremity of the Meuse heights whence they were flanking the American advance. It was not fully in place till the 19th. (Meantime the army was acquiring those distinctive division designs in cloth on the left shoulder — the “Y. D.” monogram in dark blue for the Yankee Division.) The influenza epidemic was raging, over there as here at home. Brigadier-General Shelton and many officers, sorely needed, and large numbers of the enlisted men were in hospitals with it. Heavy rains on ancient dugouts, themselves gas-saturated, ruined roadways, wet clothing and blankets, difficulty in getting warm rations to the front, and added to these things, every hill dotted with machine-gun nests and every valley a gas trap, conspired to test the will power of man.

Viewed from any standpoint, psychological or military, it was inopportune to remove General Edwards from the command of the division and order him to America with those who had preceded him to train new men. Trained new men were what there was much need of, but somehow they did not seem to be coming proportionately with the number of trainers who were going back. If Edwards was to improve that condition it was well, but there was a sentiment that that was not what was in mind. And if it were in mind, it was unfortunate that the step must be taken to the endangering of the *esprit de corps* of a sorely tried contingent. Colonel Bearss was taking General Shelton's place. October 21, he issued an order for the Houppy Wood fight which was to continue every moment from October 24 to October 27, and he closed it with these

words: "Hell with all its flying artillery can't stop this brigade when once engaged in action." On October 27, General Shelton reviewed the gains made, in report to division commander, regretted that they were not sufficient and calmly sketched the condition in the ranks: In the 102nd, no officers and but 178 men (under command of the regimental adjutant) in the First Battalion; two officers and 100 men in the Second, and three officers and 100 men in the Third, and much the same condition in the 101st Regiment. Some of these on duty were unfit for service; non-commissioned officers were few. "It is difficult with the shortage of officers," he wrote, "to enforce action of any kind now, because through exhaustion the remaining men have in every instance to be aroused by the employment of physical force before they can be made to understand that action is required." With it all, the system of frittering or local attacks was being employed instead of general attacks along the line as in the Aisne fight. General Claudel, commanding the corps, had had the temerity on October 22 to point out to the army commander that positions could not be gained and held in this way. One thing was being achieved, however, and that was—keeping the enemy busy.

General Frank E. Bamford, lately colonel of the Sixteenth regulars in Bullard's First United States Division, on October 24 succeeded General Edwards who said on leaving that he was grateful for the division's loyalty and wished for his successor the same devotion, confident that the division's fine work would continue to the end.

American hard-earned victories west of the Meuse—glorious tributes to American arms—were beginning to yield results encouraging to the forces on the east. From making the enemy yield his strongholds, the object now

was to prevent his sneaking away without discovery. When the army had been held in its direct drive, it had struck out toward the sides with fine generalship. The direction of advance for the Twenty-sixth was now more southeasterly with view to put to rest all threat from that quarter, and a specific duty was to make raids for prisoners. The appearance of the men thus brought in confirmed all that had been surmised, especially as to the infantry. Gaunt soldiers met the gaunt, but the party of the first part was gaunt from overwork and hardship, not gaunt in spirit, while the party of the second part had lost heart. Physically the Germans were much better cared for, being near their base of supplies. On the American side the lack of animals and the impossibility of motors alone made existence precarious through failure to get up supplies for man or gun. Numerical depletion reminded men of Thompson's battalion of the day at Marcheville when they rounded up more prisoners than they had men to take care of them and had to resort to strategy to get them back to the lines. So reduced were the ranks that operations were almost a farce.

But October 31, the Kriemhilde line had been broken and the American army was pursuing the disorganized enemy. Italy had defeated the Austro-Hungarians. The kaiser had accepted Ludendorf's resignation. President Wilson and the kaiser were exchanging peace notes. October 31, Turkey withdrew, accepting the terms of the allies. November 1, President Wilson informs Berlin that the allies are willing to make peace on the basis of his "fourteen points," with certain reservations. November 4, Austria-Hungary withdraws. November 9, the kaiser abdicates and Socialist Ebert comes in. November 11, German delegates sign the armistice presented by Foch.

But there still was much for the Twenty-sixth Division to experience.

General Bamford's first act (October 25) was to relieve Colonel Logan, 101st, of command on the ground of inertia—a malady not unmarked among the men, according to the report from General Shelton quoted a little way back. A few days later he relieved Colonel Hume of the 103d, charging that he allowed his men to fraternize with the enemy, which may find explanation in the fact that the enemy were nearer their base of food supplies. Three days later General Cole, commanding the Fifty-second Brigade, was similarly accused and relieved. In the ranks, the facetious consensus was that the rumors about the war being almost over had reached high command. But Pershing himself immediately reinstated Cole when he had looked through the papers. Hume and Logan were reinstated in February. To complete this phase of it: General Bamford was relieved November 18, to be succeeded by Major-General Harry C. Hale who had seen service of all kinds in various places since his graduation from West Point, in 1883: latterly he had commanded the Eighty-fourth Division. General Shelton was transferred to the command of the Fifty-second Brigade when Cole was relieved, and General L. L. Durfee was given Shelton's place. When Cole so quickly returned, Durfee was re-transferred. Colonel Bearss of the 102nd was relieved for physical disability and was succeeded by Colonel D. Potts, U. S. A., before the regiment came home.

The 101st Machine-gun had had especially onerous duty in the Argonne. For ten days the companies were under continuous shell fire with gas attacks every night. For what they accomplished they received warm commendation from brigade and division commanders. Major Bulk-

eley was gassed but would not go to the hospital till November 2. He won the *croix de guerre*. Captain Rawdon W. Myers was detailed to command till Major L. H. Watres (Scranton, Pennsylvania) of the Twenty-eighth Division was appointed, December 27. He was transferred back and Stillman F. Westbrook of Hartford, who had been a lieutenant in B company, had been transferred to the 104th Infantry and had come back a major, was appointed to command March 3. Lieutenant Philip S. Wainwright of Hartford was ordered to division headquarters as ordnance inspector during the latter part of the service after the Argonne. Citations and honors for officers were as follows: Major Bulkeley, (*croix de guerre*), Major Watres, Lieutenant Lester L. Powell, (M. C.) of Portland, Maine, Lieutenant Harold Armory of Dedham, Massachusetts, Lieutenant Gerald Courtney, (D. S. C.), of Boston, Second Lieutenant Rodman W. Chamberlain, (D. S. C.), of New Britain, and Second Lieutenant Robert W. Thomas, Jr., of Richmond, Virginia.

A specimen extract from battle "field orders" (Colonel Bearss, Meuse-Argonne offensive, October 21, 1918) is worth preserving as illustrative of the technique and likewise the organization and method at the time of this war:

Battalions will be formed in depth with two companies in the firing line and two in support. One 37mm. platoon, one Stokes-mortar platoon, one machine-gun company and one section gas and flame troops will be attached to each battalion.

The attention of all regimental, battalion, company, platoon and squad leaders is called to Instructions No. 106, Twenty-sixth Division. Particular attention will be paid to paragraphs 1 and 2. Each man will be equipped with two bandoliers of ammunition in addition to that carried in the cartridge belt. This operation, which is carried out largely through the woods, requires every effort to

keep the command well in hand and can best be accomplished by the use of small columns.

Rate of advance of infantry, 100 metres in 10 minutes. The 1st Bn., 101st Infantry, leaves its parallel of departure at 'H' hour. The 3d Bn., 101st Infantry, leaves its parallel of departure when the 1st Bn. has reached the nose of Houppy Bois as outlined above. Intermediate objective reached at H plus two hours, 30 minutes. Departure from intermediate objective at H plus 3 hours, 30 minutes. The normal objective reached at H plus 4 hours, 30 minutes. Attack on the zone of eventual exploitation at H plus 5 hours, 15 minutes.

ARMISTICE DAY AND AFTER

On November 10, divisional headquarters published detailed orders for the next day's attack, properly oblivious of the rumors afloat and the intercepted air message between high commands for a meeting. There was more than ground for the suspicion that Berlin would like hostilities with gunpowder to cease at this particular juncture, and there was not a wholly suppressed sentiment that Germany might properly be called upon to endure more of it. Foch's Eiffel Tower orders at 5:45 A. M. called for end of hostilities at 11 o'clock, November 11. Through Colonel Major, divisional headquarters modified its attack orders to exclude infantry advance but not artillery fire till 11 o'clock. Corps headquarters were then in charge of the Second Colonial French staff, but Claudel commanded. A half hour later information was received that the corps staff had reverted to the original order for infantry advance. Accordingly a somewhat thinner line than usual of the division moved out and added another small village and a farm to its list of captures. In the artillery various devices were resorted to for the purpose of allowing every man to share in the pull on the lanyards when the last shots were fired. The

infantry moved methodically as for the past two weeks, habit having gained full control of the benumbed senses. On the German side there was joyous celebration.

In the two months of its existence the American army had captured 42,000 prisoners and 1,290 guns. It had lost 124,000 officers and men, 117,000 of them in the Meuse-Argonne.

The next division headquarters were in Montigny-le-Roi, with the Fifth Corps, Major General C. P. Sumner. On that day, November 23, Emerson G. Taylor of Hartford, adjutant of the 102nd, who early in his career in France had attended the Staff College at Langres and had been with the Fourteenth British Division at Cambrai and other important fronts and who had been called to duty on the divisional staff August 7, was appointed acting adjutant of the Fifty-first Brigade, later to be assistant chief of staff, and still later to be assigned to headquarters, Sixty-seventh Division, U. S. A. (Organized Reserves), with rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1923, he was made colonel of the 304th of the 76th Division, organized Reserves (Connecticut). Anson T. McCook, also of Hartford, who had had service as captain in the original 304th and the 320th, was made major in Taylor's 304th.

There was regret in many quarters that the Y. D. division was considered incapacitated for the Army of Occupation, though on the way to rest area some forty officers had been taken from it for such unexpected duty. Prominent among the Connecticut men who went was Colonel James H. Waterman of Hartford, who had been conspicuous in medical corps work since back before the days of the Mexican border. He was made assistant division surgeon, September 6, 1917, was medical liaison

officer at headquarters of the Eleventh French Army Corps, assistant to the chief surgeon of the Twenty-first Division and commanding officer of the 101st Sanitary Train by successive appointments up to October 1, 1918, when he was made division surgeon of the Fourth Division (regulars). This appointment was due to the record he had made as a hospital organizer. In further recognition and to facilitate his work with the regulars he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Medical Corps, U. S. A., November 11, 1918, and colonel the following May. He returned to America in July 1919. His brilliant career in his profession was cut short by his sudden death July 31, 1923.

One of the features of the rest camp was the exchange of news and information. Men were returning who had been prisoners in Germany and officers who had been detailed for duty away from their original regiments. It was heard with pleasure that Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur D. Budd of Meriden, 311th United States Infantry, had received the D. S. C. for meritorious service at Grandpre, in the Argonne, October 28, the service consisting of going through a heavy barrage to organize a counter attack. And Fairfield County men in particular were glad to hear that Colonel Randal C. Bolling of Greenwich had won the D. S. C. for his work in the air service.

A decided filip was given to this second winter in France by the announcement from Pershing's headquarters that President Wilson had selected the Yankee Division as the one that he would visit on Christmas, the side explanation for other divisions being that this was because the Twenty-sixth had been longest in France. After a review he would eat dinner with the men—a regular soldiers' dinner for him and his party of about

forty. Everything was prepared for the occasion but the plan was changed to one for a review of detachments from all near-by divisions at Humes. The infantry companies selected to represent the Yankees were B, 101st; K, 102nd; F, 103d, and L, 104th. The president had his dinner with the officers of the division. Another most impressive occasion was when, on January 15, General Pershing and General Petain, the hero of Verdun, came to the camp and the French general formally decorated with the *croix de guerre* the colors of the 102nd and of the First Battalion in memory of that day at Marcheville, after which he pinned upon General Pershing's breast the cross of bronze with its green and red ribbon. On February 19, there was a review for Pershing, for which much preparatory work was done. Rain only added to the interest of the day. Pershing, on his white horse, rode among rather than around the men in formation, chatting with them, gaining much plain, wholesome information and winning the esteem of them all. His letter of congratulation was hearty, as also was that of Secretary of War Baker.

The sail home was comfortable, the reuniting at Camp Devens in Massachusetts joyful, but with more parades in prospect. The number proposed by civilian admirers was cut down to one, at Boston, April 25, when half New England was present, and a review—a kind of preparation for the Boston affair—at Camp Devens, April 22, with discharge of officers and men, April 28-30. The colors of the regiments were decorated with the battle streamers. When the decorations of some forty-five officers and men were awarded, General Hale called upon General Edwards to make the award to those who won the honors while he was in command.

When the Connecticut contingents reached Hartford on their homeward journey, they detrained on demand of the whole public, most of which was out to greet them, headed by the First Regiment of the State Guard, with the First Company Governor's Foot Guard, the Putnam Phalanx and societies and orders of all kinds. In the absence of Colonel Potts the regiment was in command of Major Michael A. Connor, who had gone out as captain of the Supply Company and had been promoted to be major, November 14, 1918. He was transferred next day after appointment to the Army of Occupation and had returned to the 102nd, February 19. The ladies and welfare organizations had prepared a dinner on long tables at the armory obviously under the impression that the men had been starved — as so many at home had been, in observing their "No-Meat Day," "No-Sugar Day" and all the rest — and all unconscious that the boys had been buried in good things at every station on the way from Worcester. A special day, April 30, was set for turning in the colors of the regiment and the battalion, and the colors of the Fifty-eighth Pioneers, to be placed in sacred Battle Flag Corridor in the Capitol.

As has been said, the settling down for a new citizen-soldier organization has been slow, but today the State's record for the new National Guard is equal to that of any and better than that of most. It has the Eighty-fifth Brigade of the Forty-third Division, including all New England, except Massachusetts and New Hampshire, under command of Major-General Morris B. Payne of New London. Brigadier-General James A. Haggerty of New Haven commands the brigade.

The Connecticut troops on May 20, 1925 are: 169th Infantry, Colonel D. Gordon Hunter, Hartford; 102nd

Infantry, Colonel Lewis L. Field, New Haven; 118th Medical, Colonel Charles W. Comfort, Jr., New Haven; 118th Observation Squadron, Major Talbot O. Freeman, Hartford; Forty-third Tank Company, Captain Leslie J. Reynolds, Branford; 118th Motorcycle Company, First Lieutenant John Liebke, Hartford; Special Troops, Major Albert L. Darbie, Danielson. Attached to the division for training purposes are these: 192nd Field Artillery, Colonel Morgens Morgensen, New Haven; First Battalion 242nd Coast Artillery, Major Lafayette E. Evans, Bridgeport. There are also the First Squadron, 315th Cavalry (two troops each in Hartford and New Haven), Major William H. Welch, New Haven, and the First Battalion, Naval Militia, Commander Clifford M. Peck, New Haven.

All these troops are uniformed and equipped by the government, are under government pay and are subject to federal call at any time. Army instructors are provided. The state furnishes the armories and the Niantic camp grounds; when troops are on duty, it adds to the government pay for enlisted men.

The 76th Division, Organized Reserves, a skeleton division well officered and ready for enrolments in emergency, consists of the following: 304th, Colonel Emerson G. Taylor, Hartford; 417th, Colonel Elisha J. Hall, New Haven; 418th, Major Reginald B. DeLacour, New Haven; (the 385th, Rhode Island); 301st Medical, Major Walter T. Lay, Hamden; 355th Field Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel James W. Gilson, Hartford; 301st Engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Chubb, New Haven; 301st Observation Squadron, Major H. T. Morrison, Hartford; Special Troops, Major William J. Shanahan, Waterbury; Division Trains, Major James B. Moody, Hartford.

Major Lewis H. Stanley, commands the First Company, Governor's Foot Guard, Hartford; Major Edward A. Judge, the Second Company, New Haven.

Literally American soldiers were on foreign soil in this war, but when destruction of the civilized world was imminent there could be no "foreign" soil; it was all one soil. Therefore, we may put General Pershing's words to Marshal Foch on July 24, 1918, in category with the words of Connecticut's leaders in the earlier history, of the days of Andros and Fletcher the usurpers. In his report of the interview, Pershing writes that Foch proposed dividing the new American army into groups to assist the French and that he opposed on the ground of the "inherent disinclination of our troops to serve under allied commanders. The American morale would have suffered. My position was stated quite clearly, that strategic employment of the First Army as a unit would be undertaken where desired, but its disruption to carry out these proposals would not be entertained."

The words have a familiar ring to the readers of Connecticut's history. In earliest days it was declared that, while Connecticut would give freely of her men for a proper and common cause, she had become convinced that they best discharged their duty when pride of state was added to pride in common cause, and any view not in accord with this could not be considered friendly to the state. That was the voice of this the oldest of today's republics, nor has the spirit been surrendered when surrendering all rights essential to federal union. It has proved to be the spirit of America when uniting with other nations, if Pershing's words fairly represent it, and henceforth may be expected to be the spirit of the government in

dealing with the states in martial matters, without discussion or circumlocution.

Pershing's words mean the recognition of the value of sentiment in a proud nation. A history of a state, in relation to its wars, should not be boastful, any more than the history of a nation among the allies of the World War should be boastful, especially when "there is glory enough to go round," but it is untrue if it fails to reflect the sentiment of the people and pride in achievement which has carried them onward.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT

From 1818 to 1925

Part I

BY CHARLES L. AMES, M. A., HARTFORD, CONN.

Born in Killingly, Connecticut, November 9, 1847. Son of George Ames and Lucy Day Ames—both teachers. Brought up on a farm. Attended the public schools and select school. Married Ida Imogene Cowles of Plainville in 1876 (now deceased). Degree M. A. conferred by Trinity in 1924. Began teaching in 1865, "boardin' 'round" the district, as was then the custom in rural sections. Taught school continuously since 1865-1866, now on his 59th year. Taught in Killingly, Plainfield, Plainville, Southington (17 years), and Hartford (34 years). Is now (1925) a member of the Connecticut State Board of Education, a member of the Teachers Board of Retirement, a director in the Hartford Chamber of Commerce, and principal of the Brown School, Hartford. Has given addresses on various subjects and written articles for the public press. Has written this "History of Education in Connecticut" in his 78th year.

IN THE following brief history of education in Connecticut for the last hundred years, the year 1818, being the date of the revision of the Constitution, under which the people had lived for nearly two hundred years, has been taken as a line of demarcation between the earlier and the later periods of education in this State.

The founders of Connecticut, both in the river-towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, and in New Haven, were men of the best Puritan blood in England, intelligent and of sound political and religious ideas. Some of them were university graduates, and all were strongly desirous of establishing a commonwealth, whose citizens would be able to read and interpret the Bible, and also understand and abide by the laws made for the welfare of all. Early in the colony's history, a school system was established, one chief purpose being to counteract that "one chief project of that old deluder Sathan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." "Reverencing the Bible as the inspired word of God, and their guide, in the pettiest details of life, they could not but strive that their children be able to read the precious book, and this was an additional reason for them to establish schools." (Steiner). The founders of Connecticut believed that, as a fundamental principle, children should be taught weekly "some short orthodox catchism."

THE EARLIER PERIOD

In the beginning, two distinct colonies were established in Connecticut—the Connecticut Colony (1635), with Hartford as the leading town, and the New Haven Colony (1638), with New Haven as the leading town.

The early English settlers in each colony established schools long before there had been any general enactment concerning education, each town acting independently. The records of several of the original towns have been lost, but those now extant doubtless give a correct idea of all the towns. The records of New Haven show that, in 1642, a vote was passed as follows:

"Itt is ordered that a free schoole shall be sett up in this towne, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider whatt yearly allowance is meete to be given to itt out of the common stock of the towne, and allso whatt rules and orders are meete to be observed in and about the same."

In Hartford, the records show that, at a general meeting, in 1643, it was voted that a school shall be opened in that year. That school was located in the center of the town, near Pastor Hooker's church, and has had a continuous history to the present time, now being known as the "Brown School" in the First School District of Hartford.

In May, 1650, a code was adopted by the Connecticut Colony, requiring every township having fifty families (later reduced to thirty families) to establish a school, and that "one within the town" shall be appointed to teach the children to read and write. A similar code was adopted in New Haven in 1655. Both of these codes, with few modifications, remained in force for one hundred and fifty years. The code of 1650 further required every township having one hundred families to establish a "grammar school" for the purpose of preparing the "youths" for the university. The earliest form of secondary education in Connecticut is found in those "grammar schools," which, about the time of the close of the American Revolution, were gradually sup-

planted by a new type of school, called the "academy." At the present time, the dominating influence in secondary education in Connecticut is in the free public high schools that have taken the place of the old academies. (Both academies and high schools will be treated later in this sketch.)

In view of the fact that matters in detail, pertaining to the earlier period of education in this State, do not come within the province of this sketch, except so far as events may constitute a basis for continuous development to the present time, it may here be stated that the people in Connecticut, from early times, have always shown commendable zeal and enterprise in the maintenance of public schools for the education of their children, that the school and the church stood side by side in the community, and that for years Connecticut had the proud title of being the leader in the management of her schools. The methods of support and procedure have been revolutionized more than once for the betterment of the schools, and the present public school system may be regarded as an outgrowth of the schools established in this State prior to 1818.

"Without intending any invidious distinction, as between the two colonies, or the founders of either of the towns of Hartford and New Haven, it is due to historical truth to ascribe to the early, enlightened, and persevering labors of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport the credit of establishing in New Haven, before it ceased to be an independent colony, a system of public education, at that time without a parallel in any part of the world, and not surpassed, in its universal application to all classes, rich and poor, at any period in the subsequent history of the State."—(Henry Barnard)

SCHOOL SOCIETIES

In 1818, the care of schools was under the direction of "school societies." A law had been passed, in 1795, referring to the parish and ecclesiastical societies as "school societies," which was the first time that the law had given them that designation. A "school society" might include a whole town, a part of a town, or parts of two or more towns. Those "school societies" were originally parish or ecclesiastical societies, organized primarily for religious purposes, for convenience in worship, and later were found convenient for school purposes.

"In 1798, the management of schools was transferred entirely from the towns to the 'school societies,' with which it remained until it was restored to the towns in 1856. All business concerning schools—the care of funds, the formation and arrangement of school districts, the appointment of district committees, and, in general, whatever is now done by towns—was, during that period, transacted by the 'school societies.' In process of time, a large number of those societies were organized as separate towns, and, thus, in part, the way was gradually prepared for a return to the original town system."¹

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

In 1766 towns and societies were given "full power and authority to divide themselves into districts for helping their schools." In 1839 the powers of school districts were greatly enlarged. They were declared to be "bodies corporate," able to purchase, receive, hold, and convey property for the support of schools, to be parties

¹ From Connecticut School Report, 1876.

in legal proceedings, and to make all lawful arrangements and regulations for the management of their schools. They were also empowered to elect their own committees, to provide school-rooms, employ teachers, arrange terms of school, and apportion their respective portions of public money to the different towns. Further, they were authorized to tax the property and polls within their limits in order to raise funds for school purposes. The powers of districts and district officers are now essentially the same as fixed by the law of 1839. In 1865, the General Assembly gave the towns the power to consolidate their districts, by a majority district vote, into one system, under the control of a board of education or town school committee. In 1866 towns were permitted to consolidate their districts by vote of the town as a whole. By 1909 more than half of the towns in the State had voluntarily abandoned their district systems. By vote of the General Assembly, in 1909, the district system was entirely abolished, except in those towns that contained cities or boroughs within their limits. At the present time (1925), the district system is retained in the following towns: Hartford, Farmington, Bristol, Groton, West Haven, Manchester, Middletown and Waterbury.

SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS

The local funds for the support of schools in Connecticut have been derived from several sources, which may be reduced to three classes, viz.: Tuition-fees or rate-bills, taxes and income from invested funds. From 1821 to 1854, tuition-fees or rate-bills and the income from the school fund were the only sources of revenue for the support of the schools. At the present time

(1925), the only tuition-fees paid are paid by children attending schools outside of their own towns or districts. Under the rate-bill system, a parent paid his proportionate part of the cost of running the schools in his community, and that depended upon the number of children he had in school. In addition, he was required to board the teacher, free of charge, his proportionate part of the time. "Boardin' round," on the part of the teacher, was the general practice in the rural sections, and this practice continued up to about 1870.

The Connecticut school fund—an account of which will be given later—began to yield an income for the support of schools in 1799. As the income gradually increased, there developed some opposition to the levying of taxes for the maintenance of schools, and, in 1820, it was provided that whenever in any one year the income from the school fund shall exceed sixty-two thousand dollars, the amount of such increase shall, for said year, so far diminish the sum appropriated from the avails of a state tax. This law went into effect in 1821, and from that time until 1854, a town or "school society" tax was unknown in Connecticut.

The school tax, discontinued in 1821, was restored in 1854, in which year each town was required "annually to raise a sum equal to one cent on the dollar on its grand list, as made up at that time, for the support of schools, the amount to be distributed yearly to the several 'school societies' in the town." In 1856 the "school societies" were abolished, and the towns restored to their original place in the school system, thereby giving the towns the management of their public schools.

In 1860, the method of preparing the grand list was changed, and the rate of tax for that year was fixed at

three-tenths of a mill on the dollar. In 1866 the rate was four-tenths of a mill; in 1868, not less than one mill on the dollar; in 1869, the year following the enactment of the free school law, the rate was to be enough, with income from funds, to maintain thirty weeks school in every district; in 1870, rate high enough, with income from funds, to maintain at least thirty weeks school in districts enumerating twenty-four children or more, between four and sixteen years of age, and in all other districts, at least twenty-four weeks of school.

In 1868, at the time that Hon. James E. English of New Haven was governor, a great awakening in the cause of public school education took place, and the State made a notable advance by enacting the free school law, which made it mandatory upon the towns to support their schools by a system of public taxation. The enactment of the free school law eliminated rate-bills and dependence upon income from invested funds for school maintenance, and put the support of public schools on a firm, financial basis—a system of public taxation. That all property-holders in the State must pay a school tax, regardless of whether they had children to be educated or not, was new to Connecticut. The free school law met at once with much opposition. At one time, Henry Barnard, a leading educator of that time, was threatened with personal violence for proposing the taxation of the property of all for the education of the children of a few. However, since education makes life and property more secure, all opposition to a system of general taxation disappeared. The public school system of Connecticut is a system, wherein the State, through its Legislature, fixes minimum conditions and standards regarding education, and follows up its grants to see that all expen-

ditures are legally made, leaving to the towns the largest measure of initiative and autonomy of administration, extension of curriculum, character of buildings, and advanced qualifications of its teachers.

After the enactment of the free school law, in 1868, the State entered upon an advance in all educational features—buildings, methods of teaching, better teachers, supervision, and so on—that soon put the public school system of Connecticut in the front rank. An advance in public sentiment towards education is seen in the lengthening of the school-year. In 1841, the length of the school-year was only four months, in 1855, six months, in 1870, thirty weeks, in 1877, thirty-six weeks, and in 1921, thirty-eight weeks. Again, in 1872, the State enacted its first compulsory attendance law, which required all children between eight and fourteen years of age, to attend school at least three months in a year. Since that date, the law has been changed from time to time, and now, (1925), the law makes compulsory the attendance of all children between seven and sixteen years of age unless they are legally employed, and that attendance must be not less than 150 days during the preceding twelve months. In order to be legally employed, children must be fourteen years of age or over, in good physical condition, and must have completed at least the sixth grade in the school.

THE CONNECTICUT SCHOOL FUND

Inasmuch as the income from the Connecticut School Fund has been paid annually to the State from 1799 to the present time (1925), and will doubtless continue to be paid for years to come, it seems advisable at this point to give a brief history of the Fund.

The charter of Connecticut, given by Charles II, king of England, in 1662, conveyed to the "Govenour and Company of the English Collony of Connecticut, in New England, in America," a tract of land extending from the Narragansett Bay on the east, the Massachusetts plantations on the north, the sea on the south, and the Pacific Ocean on the west. This grant, west of the Delaware River, was 70 miles wide, latitude 41° and $42^{\circ} 2'$, extending through 44 degrees of longitude to the Pacific Ocean. The boundary lines on the east and south were established by mutual agreement, fixing the boundaries as at present. The long controversy with Pennsylvania was at last decided in favor of that State by a Court of Commissioners appointed by Congress. There still remained that slender strip of land, 70 miles wide and more than 2,500 miles long. At the close of the controversy with Pennsylvania, the people in Connecticut became more and more convinced that it would be inexpedient to attempt to control that long section of land, and, in May, 1786, the General Assembly, acting upon repeated suggestions from Congress, authorized its delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all the land belonging to Connecticut, lying west of a line parallel to, and one hundred twenty miles west from, the western line of Pennsylvania. This cession was accepted by Congress in 1786. All of the lands not included in the ceded territory were reserved by the State, and have been known as our "Western Reserve," sometimes called the "New Connecticut."

"In 1793, the General Assembly appointed a committee to dispose of the lands in the 'Western Reserve.' In October of that same year, there was a long and earnest discussion on the question of what shall be done with the

moneys received from the sale of the lands. A proposition to have the moneys received from the sale divided among the parish or ecclesiastical societies, churches or congregations of all denominations, met with violent opposition. The question as to the disposal of the avails of those lands was left open until the next year, and was debated continually in every town in Connecticut. Town meetings passed votes in relation to it; clergymen discussed it in their sermons; while newspapers and pamphlets filled with argument and counter-argument were circulated in every corner of the State.”²

“After two years of thorough and universal discussion, the question came once more before the General Assembly, in May, 1795, and was decided by the passage of a bill providing that the principal of the moneys that would be received from the sale of the lands west of Pennsylvania should remain a Perpetual Fund, to be loaned on conditions fixed by law, and the interest appropriated to the support of schools in the several societies. A committee consisting of the same persons appointed two years previous was appointed to dispose of the lands.” In October following, the committee made its report, the central fact being that they had disposed of the land for the total sum of \$1,200,000.00, payable in five years, with interest after two years. The report of the committee was promptly accepted, and the “Western Reserve” of Connecticut became a matter of history only. In 1823, the School Fund had increased to more than two million dollars.

“Connecticut, by sturdily maintaining her charter boundaries as extending to the Pacific, and by illustrating her belief in making settlements, became the pos-

² From School Report, 1876.

sector of that region of the Northwest Territory, called the 'Western Reserve of Connecticut.' That tract (the Western Reserve) exceeded in area the original domains of our State. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the population of that tract was within a few thousands of the population of the mother state—a living monument to Connecticut's far-sighted patriotism and enterprise."³

The revised Constitution, adopted in 1818, contains the following provision pertaining to the school fund:

The Fund, called the "School Fund," shall remain a Perpetual Fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the State, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof.

The school fund, for half a century was the main support of schools. At first, the income from the fund was distributed on the basis of taxable property and polls. Since 1820, the income has been distributed on the basis of the number of children, between four and sixteen years of age, enumerated in October (now in September) of each year. By legislative enactment, the income from the school fund is now deposited with the civil list funds of the State, and the comptroller draws all orders for the support of the public schools at the rate of two dollars and twenty-five cents for each child, on the enumeration last made and perfected, about thirty-one cents coming from the school fund, said orders being payable from the civil list funds of the State.

During the war of the American Revolution, many citizens suffered much damage in property on account of

³ Forrest Morgan's History of Education in Connecticut.

British raids into the following towns: New London, Groton, Norwalk, Greenwich, Fairfield, New Haven, West Haven and East Haven. As illustrating the "New England conscience," the General Assembly, in 1792, made provision for reimbursing those citizens for losses sustained. In that year, 500,000 acres of the extreme western part of the "Western Reserve" were deeded, proportionately, to those private citizens having claims. The remainder of the tract was disposed of for \$1,200,000.00, as previously stated.

TOWN DEPOSIT FUND

At the first meeting of Congress, in 1835, the finances of the country were in a flourishing condition. The national debt had been paid in full, and the balance in the treasury was constantly increasing. In order to dispose of the "surplus revenue" at that time, Congress, in 1836, passed a law, directing that all moneys remaining in the National Treasury on January 1, 1837, except five million dollars (\$5,000,000.00), for current expenses, shall be deposited with the several states, in proportion to their representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Connecticut's share in that distribution was more than one million dollars, the same to be paid in four quarterly payments. Three payments were made, giving the State more than three-fourths of a million dollars, but, on account of the financial panic in 1837, the fourth payment has never been paid. The amount received by the State was deposited with the several towns of the State on the basis of population for the "promotion of education in the common schools of the State." This fund is generally known as the "Town Deposit Fund." Much of it has been lost, and in many

towns today, remains only as a perpetual obligation, for which the towns tax themselves annually to pay the annual interest.

DECLINE IN COMMON SCHOOLS

At the time of the adoption of the new Constitution, in 1818, there was a period of apathy in education throughout all New England, and this continued for several years. The large and increasing income from the school fund, being almost the entire support of public schools from 1821 to 1854, was producing carelessness and indifference in all matters pertaining to education. Private schools were on the increase; the schools of the "school societies" were poor; and a general decline in educational interest had set in. That state of affairs continued into the Forties. In 1839, a board of commissioners was appointed for the purpose of improving the public schools in the State. Henry Barnard was elected secretary, and from that time on, that distinguished educator devoted his life to education in Connecticut, a detailed account of which will appear later in this sketch.

History will show that advancement in education depends largely upon local interest and local initiative, and that both interest and initiative are stimulated by some system of local taxation, instead of by reliance upon an income from a school fund. At the present time, the income for the support of schools in Connecticut can be classified under three heads: State grants, town and district taxes, and miscellaneous—including interest from the Town Deposit Fund, tuition-fees and so on. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, the State grants amounted to \$1,385,172.69—6.85 per cent of the entire

current expense for education; town and district moneys amounted to \$17,897,427.72—88.62 per cent; miscellaneous, \$915,634.99—4.53 per cent.

The average cost per pupil in the elementary schools for the year ending June 30, 1924, was \$74.31, and for high schools, \$143.80.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

During the entire period from 1650 to 1925, Connecticut has had only three types of secondary schools: the "grammar schools" of the Colonial period, the "academies," which flourished from about the time of the close of the American Revolution to the middle of the nineteenth century, and the free public "high schools" that began to supplant the academies near the middle of the last century. While these three types of schools had a few features in common—the reception of students from the elementary schools and the maintenance of courses of study for preparing students for the university—yet they differed much in the methods of support, in administration, and in their curricula.

The "grammar schools," chartered and endowed, required tuition fees from those in attendance. Those schools were under the direction of "school or ecclesiastical societies," and were limited in membership to children in any given section. In the teaching, much emphasis was placed on the study of Latin and Greek. When the demands of practical life forced those schools to provide for the teaching of English, writing and arithmetic, such studies were looked upon as extraneous. Moreover, the "grammar schools" had grown up with some dominant religious organization, which it was expected to perpetuate. In the course of time, there



HORACE BUSHNELL

Born at New Preston. One of the foremost leaders of religious thought of his time, ranked by some after Jonathan Edwards, a great original mind.

came a demand for a change. The "grammar schools" had been exclusive in aim and in curricula, with the university in view. The new institutions must have a broader outlook upon life and its activities, and must provide a training suited to the demands of a new country. The "grammar schools" were local in character—the student-body coming from a given "school or ecclesiastical society," while, in the ever extending frontier, a school was desired that would receive students from remote districts. This situation afforded a fine opportunity for a new type of secondary school, organized on a broader and more elastic basis. At that time, near the close of the eighteenth century, the "academy" began to supplant the Colonial "grammar school."

The term "academy" has an interesting history. That term was first applied to a suburb of Athens, which was presented to the city for public pleasure grounds. It was there that Plato met his students and discussed with them his philosophy of life. Gradually, the term "academy" was applied to any place or school of learning.

The academies were not limited to any town or section of a town for students. In fact, the students in the academies were "picked boys and girls—the elite, perhaps, of twenty or more towns." As the tuition-fees were large, it may be assumed that only the well-to-do families sent their children to those schools. From that, one may conclude that the academies were more or less aristocratic in character, while the free public high schools that began to supplant the academies by the middle of the nineteenth century, and that were open to all students—rich or poor, irrespective of creed, race, or

color—constituted a highly democratic system of public school education.

At the present time, only a few of those old-time academies still function as preparatory schools, and those are notable exceptions. Many academies have been entirely discontinued, while others have been merged into the high schools of various sections, free to students of a town and tuition-fees charged for non-residents.

ACADEMIES

Near the close of the Revolution, a new type of school began to supplant the "grammar schools" of the Colonial period. That type was the academy. Academies were endowed institutions of learning, supported by their income from endowments and from tuition fees. Those academies flourished from about 1770 to 1852, and were an important factor in the cause of education during that period. They presented a curricula of broader scope than the Colonial "grammar schools," attracted students of the more prosperous families, and prepared them for the college and university. Many prominent men of national reputation attended those academies, students often coming from distant parts of the country. A partial list of those old academies, many of which have been discontinued or merged into the public high schools, in the towns, in which they are located, is as follows:

(1) One of the earliest and best of those old-time academies, founded in 1783, was that at Greenfield Hill, under the charge of President Dwight. (2) The Staples Academy at North Fairfield was founded in 1781. Mr. Staples made a generous donation and selected the trustees. Later that school became the "Staples Free

School." (3) The first academy in Windham County was organized at Plainfield as early as 1770, but did not receive its charter until 1784. That school has been discontinued as an academy. (4) A rival academy at Woodstock was founded in 1801. Its building was erected by voluntary contributions and labor from the people in the neighborhood. Later in its history, an endowment of \$100,000.00 was secured by subscriptions, the largest contributors being Henry C. Bowen and Elisha Converse. This academy was under the capable direction of Edward R. Hall for twenty-six years. Among those that attended the academy were Louise Chandler Moulton, a noted writer, Governor Marcy of New York, Governor Lake of Connecticut, and William T. Harris, former United States Commissioner of Education.

(5) The Berlin Academy was incorporated in 1802—now discontinued. (6) Bacon Academy, at Colchester, was founded in 1803. This academy, being well endowed, increased rapidly, and became one of the famous academies of the State. At the present time (1925), this academy functions as a free high school for Colchester. Many men of national reputation were students at the school, as follows: Morrison R. Waite, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Lyman Trumbull, United States Senator from Illinois, Henry Champion, a noted missionary, John T. Wait, Representative in Congress, William Larrabee, former Governor of Iowa, William A. Buckingham, Governor of Connecticut during the Civil War, Edward S. Bartholomew, sculptor, Leverett Brainard, Mayor of Hartford, and Morgan G. Bulkeley, United States Senator and Governor of Connecticut. (7) The following old-

time academies, doubtless many others, are now discontinued so far as we know: Stratford, founded 1806; Wallingford, founded 1812; Danbury, founded 1814; Wilton, founded 1818; Goshen, founded 1825; Durham, founded 1842; Hand academy, Madison, founded 1884,—a gift from Daniel Hand, the well-known philanthropist; in 1887, the Hand academy became the Hand high school, free to children in the town; Greenwich, Tolland and Ellington academies, founded 1829; Brooklyn, founded 1830; the Brainerd academy at Haddam, founded 1839; Parker academy at Woodbury, founded 1851, succeeded by the Woodbury high school, and the Waramung academy, founded 1852—the successor of the New Preston academy, a famous school in its time. Guilford institute, founded in 1854, is now (1925) a public high school for the town.

(8) Cheshire Episcopal academy was founded in 1794. This academy is one of the oldest in the State, and is now (1925) a progressive institution of learning. Among the students that attended this academy are: Admiral Andrew H. Foote, U. S. N.; Commodore R. B. Hitchcock, U. S. N.; Gideon Wells, Secretary of Navy during the Civil War; Major General Joseph Wheeler, U. S. A., and J. Pierpont Morgan, Sr.

ENDOWED AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Taft School in Watertown, was founded in 1890. All students pay tuition. Mr. Horace D. Taft has been the only head master to date (1925).

The Gilbert School, Winsted, was founded in 1895, endowed by William L. Gilbert. Its endowment has grown to be over a million of productive funds. The school is one of the strong endowed schools of the State.

Students from Winsted pay no tuition. Mr. Walter D. Hood is the present (1925) principal.

The Loomis Institute, Windsor, was incorporated in 1874, opened in 1914. By provisions of the charter, no fee is charged any one for tuition; the fees are for board, rooms, etc. N. H. Bachelder has been the only head master to date (1925).

The Connecticut Literary Institute, now the Suffield School, was founded in 1833. Its endowment has been secured by subscriptions, legacies and gifts. Students pay tuition. High school courses are furnished at town expense.

The Gunnery—"Mr. Frederick W. Gunn was a native of Washington, Connecticut, and after graduation at Yale in 1837, where he was a classmate of Evarts, Waite, Tilden and Pierpont Richards, he came back to his native place, and opened a school there. He was an abolitionist, and, even in Connecticut, it was not safe to be an abolitionist then. Only a short time before, Prudence Crandall had been driven out of Canterbury for 'opening a school for young misses of color.' The school, which was first opened as a day school, was distrusted, the minister thundered against him from the pulpit, excommunicated him, and, after marrying one of the young ladies of the place, Mr. Gunn felt obliged to leave, and taught school for a year or two with United States Senator O. H. Pratt, at Towanda, Pennsylvania. In 1847 he returned to Washington and opened the Gunnery, which has ever since been successful. The prejudice against anti-slavery was passing away, and prominent abolitionists aided him by sending their sons to his school, so that the sons of Henry Ward

Beecher, Mrs. Stowe, and General John C. Fremont found instruction there.” (Steiner)

This famous school still functions as an educational institution of high rank. A new Gunn building was opened in 1883. The grounds cover 20 acres in extent, of which about one-half is an open field and grove devoted to playgrounds. Students are prepared for college or scientific school and for business life. Mr. Frederick W. Gunn was the head master from 1850 to 1881, and Mr. John C. Brinsmade from 1881 to 1922.

The Bulkeley School, New London, was opened in 1873. The original endowment was made by Leonard H. Bulkeley, who died in 1849. This school now functions as a boys' academic high school, supported in part by direct grant of money by the city of New London. The board of education is represented on the board of trustees. Instruction is free to all local students. Senator Frank B. Brandegee was a graduate of this school. Walter H. Towne, M. A. (Amherst), was principal for thirty years.

The Williams Memorial Institute of New London, founded by an endowment by Mrs. Harriet Peck Williams in 1879, was opened in 1891. This school has become a girls' high school for the city. A large portion of the salaries of the teachers is paid from the city funds, and the board of education is represented on the board of trustees. Mr. Colin S. Buell, M. A. (Yale), has been the only principal to date (1925) since the school opened in 1891.

The Norwich Free Academy was founded in 1856, and is now a flourishing educational institution, of which the city on the Thames may well be proud. It combines the good features of the old-time academy

with those of a modern high school. All non-resident students pay tuition. The tuition for students residing in Norwich is paid by the town. In 1886, the new Slater Memorial, costing \$100,000.00, was erected by Mr. William A. Slater, in memory of his deceased father. An address was given at the time of the dedication of the building by President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, the first secretary of the first Connecticut State Board of Education. Among the graduates of this academy are: United States Senator Wolcott of Colorado, Chief Justice Prentice of Hartford, Judge Gardiner Greene, Christopher Avery, Allyn Brown, of Norwich and others. Since 1856, this Free Academy has had only four principals, viz.; Elbridge Smith, 1856-1865, William Hutchinson, 1865-1885, Robert P. Keep, 1886-1902, and Henry A. Tirrell, the present principal (1925), from 1904.

The Choate School, Wallingford; founded 1896; not endowed; a preparatory school of high rank.

The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville; founded 1891; endowed; a high-class preparatory school.

The Morgan School, Clinton. Endowed; no tuition charged for children in the town.

The Wheeler School, North Stonington. Endowed; no tuition charged for children in the town.

The Chapman Technical High School, New London. Founded and endowed in 1903 by William H. Chapman; a free public high school for boys and girls in the town.

Mention should be made of the following secondary schools; St. Joseph's Academy, Hartford, Golden Hill Seminary, Bridgeport, the Windsor Female Seminary, Windsor, St. Margaret's Diocesan School for Girls,

Waterbury, and Miss Porter's School for Young Women, Farmington.

Roman Catholic schools have increased rapidly, several having been incorporated at the present (1925) session of the General Assembly. At the present time there are about 325 private schools in Connecticut. Eighty-nine of these are parochial schools of the Catholic denomination, and 39 are conducted by other denominations. 197 private schools are not classed as denominational schools.

KINDERGARTENS

In 1886, the General Assembly passed a law authorizing towns and school districts to establish kindergartens for children, between three and seven years of age. Two years earlier than this, the normal school, at New Britain, under a law giving a normal school the right to establish any form of a model school for educational purposes, opened a kindergarten in connection with that school. At that time, the secretary of the State Board of Education saw a growing demand for such schools. He believed that the mental development of a child began very early, and that little children, in their sense of form, color and symmetry, their inventive power in symmetrical combinations, could receive in such schools "industrial instruction of the first order," even though it might be given in connection with supervised play.

In Hartford, some years before any state law concerning kindergartens had been adopted, a local association had opened a school of that character, and became convinced that such schools would be of benefit to all young children. In 1886, several leading citizens and

educators appeared before a legislative committee on education, and urged the passage of the law referred to above, not for Hartford alone, but for the entire State. The records will show that this type of school now occupies a permanent place in our system of public school education, and that, at the present time (1925), there are 265 kindergartens in forty towns of the State. Most kindergartens are found in urban communities. The first public school kindergarten was opened at the West Middle School, Hartford, in 1886.

ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Compulsory attendance at school is required of all children, between 7 and 16 years of age, unless those children between 14 and 16 years of age are legally employed. In the elementary schools are taught the fundamental, statutory subjects, and it is in these schools we find the great mass of children.

ENUMERATION AND REGISTRATION—For the purpose of showing the gradual increase in school population from 1860 to 1924, the following figures are given:—In 1860, the enumeration was 108,389, registration, 68,424—63 per cent; in 1880, the enumeration was 141,235, registration, 95,611—67 per cent; in 1900, the enumeration was 199,026, registration, 155,579—78 per cent; in 1924, the enumeration was 362,276, registration, 284,629—78.7 per cent.

Soon after the close of the Civil War, immigration began to increase, and, near the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, immigration had become a great problem in education. In some years more than one million immigrants came to this country annually. This increased the enumera-

tion of children in the State, and opened up many new problems on account of the immigrants' being unable to read and speak English. Most of the immigrant children are in the larger cities and towns of the State—in towns that are under local supervision, and that register 90 per cent of the children of the State. In many schools, nearly 80 per cent of the children are foreign-born or children of foreign-born parents.

CURRICULA—Generally speaking, the curricula in the public schools have been modified to quite an extent—(1) on account of the attendance of the immigrant and (2) on account of modern thought concerning the aim and scope of education. Many eliminations of subject-matter have been made, and new courses have been added, viz.:—nature-study, elementary science, physical education, manual training—woodworking, cooking, and sewing—and civics. During the last ten or fifteen years more attention has been given to the conservation of eyesight and health than at any previous time.

MANAGEMENT—Nearly all the schools of the State are under the 8-4 plan of administration. All of the towns of the State are under direct supervision—99 towns under State supervision, with a director and 31 supervising agents, and 70 towns under local supervision. Methods of teaching have been changed for the betterment of the schools. More and more there is becoming prevalent the idea that schools are maintained, not so much for the imparting of information as for the inculcation of right principles and habits of conduct, the development of mental power, and a training for citizenship.

SALARIES—For the purpose of showing the increases

in salaries from 1860 to 1924, the following figures are presented:—In 1860, the average salary for women teachers was \$16.50 per month, including board; in 1880, \$35.27 per month, without board; in 1900, \$44.40 per month; in 1924, \$148.20. In 1860, the average salary for men teachers was \$30.05 per month, including board; in 1880, \$57.19 per month; in 1900, \$88.68 per month; in 1924, \$226.72. "Boarding 'round" by teachers in the rural sections was given up about 1870. For many years, even up to 1919, the salaries paid to teachers were very small, wholly inadequate for the work in which they were engaged. Since the year 1920–21, the salaries of teachers have been greatly increased, mainly on account of more than 100 per cent increase in the cost of living. Under the new certification law of 1921, better trained teachers in academic work and professional training will be demanded, and higher salaries will doubtless follow.

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

The high school, in its democratic spirit and organization, is a fruit of democracy, and now has the post of honor in every section of this country. "When the American high school first arose, and during what may well be termed the period of its struggle for existence, the need of higher education for any large percentage of our people was relatively slight. Latin, Greek, and mathematics constituted the backbone and the bulk of all instruction. The course of study was the same for all, and the school was useful chiefly as a preparation for entering some one of the denominational colleges of the time."

"The past fifty years, however, have witnessed very

great and very significant changes in every feature of our national life, and the public secondary schools have shared in these changes. * * * The development of the secondary school since 1890, and particularly, since 1900, has been marked. With the gradual evolution of the new conceptions as to the purpose and function of public education, there has been a gradually increasing demand that the secondary schools shall more thoroughly meet the needs of the new classes in the population, which have turned to them for help and enlightenment." (Monroe)

In order that the public high school might give a more liberal education than that given by the "grammar schools" of the Colonial period, or the academies of a later period, new subjects have been introduced from time to time. First to be introduced was history and English literature, and then the modern languages. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the sciences were introduced, and manual training, domestic arts, and business training soon followed. In many city high schools, the business course, first introduced as a concession to public opinion and to meet the competition of the business or commercial schools of "colleges," has since been changed into a strong, commercial course.

The introduction of new subjects into the high school curriculum has so expanded and crowded the old curriculum that elective courses and elective studies are now optional in every large high school. In many cities, high school development has taken a different direction, and, instead of expanding a high school to meet the needs of all classes of students, new types of high schools have been established. There are, at present, the college preparatory high school or the classical high

school, the manual training high school, offering courses in science, mathematics, modern languages and history, English and shopwork, and the commercial high school with courses in science and history, modern languages and office practice. Also, in a few instances, an agricultural course has been developed and extended so far that an agricultural school or college has been founded.

"In the course of its evolution, the high school has developed an extensive program of studies—four or five foreign languages, English for every grade, mathematics for three or more years, two, three, or four sciences, history for two or more grades, and, in addition, manual and commercial subjects. These have contributed to the making of a program far too extensive to be within the reach of any one pupil."

"More than ever did it become necessary that the individual student should take but a part, and frequently a small part, of the entire range of subjects open to him. Finally, in recent education theory, there has grown up an increased belief in the wisdom of adapting education to the individual. This represents a considerable departure from the older theory of education that the individual should be fitted to a given field of subject-matter. This change came about, partly, from the courses already presented. It was found that not only the interests, but the needs and capacities of secondary school pupils vary greatly. Furthermore, it was found that the important end of education was to prepare individuals for some field of activity, wherein that which was learned in the high school might find application, either as culture or vocational power."

"The foregoing influences resulted in the development of the so-called elective system. It is true that, from

the beginnings in the academy, the secondary school program had been somewhat elastic, but its elasticity had assumed the form of alternative courses, each course, however, representing a fixed and unvarying demand on a pupil. Naturally, alternative courses varied mainly in their demands for foreign languages and for science; English and mathematics were usually prescribed subjects. The elective system, however, carried the matter of alternative subjects to the point of allowing each pupil, within the limits of the range of subjects presented by the school, and the other inherent restrictions of program, substantially to make up his own course." (Monroe's *Cyclo. of E.*)

At the present time, most of the public schools in this State are functioning on the 8-4 plan, the 9-year elementary school course having gradually been abandoned throughout the State. During the last ten or fifteen years, there has developed a tendency towards the 6-3-3 plan in our educational system. This in effect combines the last two years of the elementary school and the first year of the 4-year high school, forming what is known as the junior high, or intermediate, school, leaving the remaining three years in the senior high school. In these junior high, or intermediate schools, favorable opportunities are given for the practical and domestic arts, and for commercial studies, but, as yet, the courses for those schools are not highly differentiated. The special function of the junior high school is to discover, so far as possible, individual aptitudes of students.

The first public high school in this State was founded in Middletown, in 1841. Hartford, New Britain and New Haven founded their high schools in the years 1847, 1850, and 1859 respectively. As early as 1638,

a classical or "grammar" school was established in Hartford, supported in part by the town and in part by tuition-fees. For more than two centuries, said classical school was under the direction of a "school society" in the town, when, under an act of incorporation, acquired in 1847, the corporate name became the Hartford Grammar School. In 1847, said classical school was merged into the classical department of the Hartford Public High School, the income from the Hartford (Hopkins) Grammar School being used towards the support of that department. Mr. S. M. Capron became principal of this school in 1853, and of the Hartford public high school, in 1865, holding both positions until his death in 1874.

The first public high school building in Hartford was erected in 1847, at the corner of Asylum and Ann Streets. In 1869, a second building was erected on the present Hopkins Street site. That building with all its contents was destroyed by fire, January 24, 1882. A new building was erected on the same site and occupied, January 2, 1884. Since that date a large building has been erected on Broad Street—more than doubling the capacity of the public high school at that time—and was occupied in September, 1915. In September, 1924, the new Thomas Snell Weaver High School on Ridgefield Street—doubtless the finest high school building in New England, so far as construction, arrangement, and equipment are concerned—was completed and occupied. And, at the time this sketch is being written, the Morgan Gardner Bulkeley High School—in many respects a duplicate of the Weaver High School—is being erected on Maple Avenue, in the south part of the city.

In New Haven, the Hillhouse High School on Orange

Street, having become inadequate to house the rapidly increasing number of high school students, was discontinued as a high school, and a new building was erected on York Square. At about the same time, the Boardman Manual Training High School—a gift to the city—was erected on a site adjacent to the present high school site. In addition to these educational facilities, the Hopkins Grammar School—a school established in 1660 by a bequest of Edward Hopkins—is still maintained as a separate school, preparing students for the college and the university. In 1860, the New Haven Hopkins Grammar School celebrated its 200th anniversary, at which time Dr. Leonard L. Bacon of New Haven gave an historic address. A new building is now (1925) being erected for this famous school, whose alumni include many persons of distinction.

In New Haven, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Hopkins were zealous in their efforts in behalf of the education of the youth. Edward Hopkins—a son-in-law of Mr. Eaton, and one of the first settlers—becoming dissatisfied for some reason—removed to Hartford. After his removal to Hartford, Hopkins was chosen Governor on alternate years from 1640 to 1654. At the close of that period, Governor Hopkins returned to England for a visit. While in England, he was appointed to several responsible positions, and finally became a member of Parliament. Governor Hopkins died in England in 1657. In his will, he made provision for the education of the youth in both “grammar schools” and in college. Two trustees chosen by Mr. Hopkins lived in Hartford and two in New Haven. Mr. Goodwin, one of the Hartford trustees, becoming dissatisfied for some reason, removed to Hadley, Massachusetts,

and founded the Hopkins academy. For this reason, the Hopkins bequest was divided into three parts. Hartford received £400, New Haven £412 and Hadley £308.

An outstanding feature in the history of education in this State, during the last twenty-five or thirty years, is the phenomenal growth of public high schools, both in number and enrollment. This increase, already mentioned in Hartford and New Haven, has been general throughout the State in those towns financially able to support high schools. At the present time (1925), there are eighty-one four-year high schools, or secondary schools, in the State. A few of these secondary schools are endowed, or incorporated academies, under the direction of trustees, but those schools are free for attendance of pupils in the town. Those academies or endowed secondary schools are as follows: Morgan School, Clinton, the Bulkeley School, Chapman Technical High School, and the Williams Memorial Institute, all of New London, the Wheeler School, North Stonington, Free Academy, Norwich, Suffield School, Suffield, and the Gilbert School, Winsted.

There are many small towns in the State, whose grand lists are entirely inadequate for financing high schools to any degree of success, and whose prospective high school students are too limited in number to warrant the establishing of high schools in those towns. However, through the foresight and public spirit of a Connecticut Legislature, the ambitious boys and girls in those small towns have been given an opportunity to secure a high school education. By a legislative act of 1921, the same being a revision or modification of a law previously enacted, provision has been made so that any child of

suitable age and ability, living in a town, in which there is no high school, may attend school in an adjoining town, on approval of the local Board of Education or town committee.

In such cases, a town is obligated to pay the tuition-fees and transportation charges of said child. Annually, in July, the State will reimburse said town, whose grand list is less than \$4,000,000.00, two-thirds of the tuition-fees of said child, not to exceed fifty dollars per year per child, and one-half of the transportation charges, not to exceed thirty-five dollars per year per child, provided said high school is approved by the State Board of Education.

By "approved" high schools and incorporated or endowed high schools or academies in this State, are meant those schools that have been visited and examined once a year, or oftener, by the supervisor of secondary education, appointed by the State Board of Education, and are found to be satisfactory in management, courses of study, and equipment for high school instruction. Said supervisor reports his findings to the secretary of the state board for final consideration, who transmits them to the board.

Such a law has been productive of great good to the State. For the year ending June 30, 1924, 2,551 pupils from 83 towns attended high schools outside of the towns in which they reside. The cost to the State for that year, including both the tuition-fees and transportation charges, amounted to \$165,207.10. This amount, together with the expense to the towns, makes the cost per pupil much higher than the average cost per high school pupil throughout the State, but the results justify the expense.

AMERICANIZATION

In 1919, at the close of the World War, the General Assembly authorized the State Board of Education to establish a department of Americanization, appoint a director, and prescribe his duties. Most of the work in that department is in connection with adults—adult immigrants largely—teaching them to read and speak English, American customs and ways of living.

Under the 1925 enactment, any Board of Education or town school committee may appoint a local director of Americanization, subject to the approval of the State Board of Education, whose salary shall be borne by both the State and the town—the State's paying half, not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars of the salary and the town's paying half. Only the cities, boroughs, and the larger towns are expected to appoint local directors. There are now (1925) 19 local directors. A six-weeks' training course for teachers of non-English speaking adults is connected with the annual state summer normal school at New Haven.

EVENING SCHOOLS

In Connecticut, every town or incorporated school-district, having a population of ten thousand or more inhabitants must establish and maintain evening schools for the instruction of persons over fourteen years of age, in such branches as the proper school authorities may prescribe. Boards of Education or town school committee, as the case may be, shall provide rooms, employ teachers, and shall have all the powers relating to evening schools that by law are conferred on them in connection with the day schools.

All evening schools, established in towns having ten thousand inhabitants, or more, shall be maintained for at least seventy-five nights of two hours each if state aid is to be secured. At the close of school, the Board of Education or town school committee, as the case may be, will certify to the comptroller of the State the average attendance of persons attending the evening schools for not less than seventy-five evenings, on receipt of which the comptroller will draw his order on the state treasurer for four dollars for each pupil in average attendance. Any town, having less than ten thousand inhabitants may at any annual meeting vote to establish evening schools under the same provisions as those of the larger towns. Children attending day schools are not permitted to attend the evening schools. Evening schools are organized largely for the purpose of teaching elementary school subjects to persons over sixteen years of age.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

In addition to the support given the public schools, the State maintains an Industrial school for boys in Meriden, an Industrial school for girls at Long Lane Farm, Middletown, a school for imbeciles and defectives at Mansfield, and provides, in part, for the deaf and dumb at the Whipple Home School, at Groton, and at the American School for the Deaf at West Hartford—the oldest school of its kind in the country—founded by Dr. Gallaudet at Hartford, in 1817. Pupils are taught to talk, and to read the lips. Trades are taught to boys and girls. Board and tuition are paid by the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.



STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, NEW BRITAIN

SUMMER SCHOOLS

In 1888, a summer school for teachers was opened at Niantic, under the direction of Hon. Charles D. Hine, secretary of the State Board of Education. Sessions were held in churches and school buildings, hotels gave reduced rates, lecturers from all parts of the country came to speak on their specialties. This school had an attendance of more than four hundred teachers, and was the first of its kind in the United States supported by state funds. Summer schools are organized not to teach academic subjects, but to outline methods of teaching those subjects. For several years the summer school was carried on at Danbury. In 1919, the Yale corporation generously gave the State Board of Education the use of its commodious buildings and grounds for the State summer school. All appointments on the faculty are made by the Commissioner of Education, subject to approval by the State Board of Education. Many courses are presented, each under the charge of an educational expert. The school has been a great success. Nearly every town in the State has been represented, and many from out of the State were in attendance for the full course of five weeks or thirty days. In 1924, there were 1100 teachers in attendance. The success and value of this school are fully recognized by the State, shown by an appropriation of \$30,000.00 for the maintenance of the state summer school for the ensuing two years.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS

Connecticut has four State normal schools, located as follows: New Britain, founded in 1849, opened on May 3, 1850, Willimantic, founded in 1889, New Haven,

founded in 1893, and Danbury, founded in 1903. It may be of interest to note that a new normal school building has been erected in New Britain, at a cost of \$750,000. This attractive and commodious building was opened for students at the beginning of the term in September, 1924. There has been a marked increase in normal school enrollment during the last two years, a raising of the standard for admission to include not only high school graduates from approved high schools, together with specified units of work, but also a high average in scholarship in the senior year, and a physical examination by the normal school authorities, before a student is admitted. In 1922, the State Board of Education adopted a rule that, beginning July 1, 1927, no new teachers will be certificated for the elementary schools, who are not graduates of approved normal schools; or have had an equivalent professional training.

On May 22, 1925, the New Britain normal school celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary, at which time, Dean James E. Russell of the Teachers College, Columbia University, gave a notable address. Marcus White, the present principal, has been at the head of this school since September 1, 1894.

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

In 1865, the first Connecticut State Board of Education was organized, consisting of the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor, ex-officio members, and four appointive members—one from each congressional district—all appointments being made by the General Assembly.

During the fifty-four years, from July 1, 1865 to July 1, 1919, when a change in the organization was made, only twenty different appointive members served

on the board. They were as follows, arranged, mainly, according to their priority in service: Elisha Carpenter of Hartford served eighteen years, Thomas L. Thacher of New Haven, eleven years, George M. Woodruff of Litchfield, twelve years, Alfred Coit of New London, three years, Henry M. Cleveland of Brooklyn, four years, William H. Potter of Mystic, eight years, Francis A. Walker of New Haven, three years, James C. Loomis of Bridgeport, one year, Origen S. Seymour of Litchfield, two years, John W. Steadman of Norwich, two years, Storrs O. Seymour of Litchfield, five years, Anthony Ames of Killingly, eighteen years, William G. Sumner of New Haven, twenty-eight years, Edward D. Robbins, of Wethersfield, thirty-six years, George M. Carrington of Winchester, twenty-four years, William H. Palmer, Jr. of Norwich, sixteen years, Schuyler Merritt of Stamford, ten years, Howell Cheney of Manchester, ten years, Charles F. Smith of New Britain, nine years, and John G. Stanton of New London, three years.

In 1919, by legislative enactment, the State Board was reorganized, and consisted of the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor, ex-officio members, and nine appointive members—one from each county, and one at large. All members are appointed by the Governor, each to serve for six years, the terms of three members expiring at every regular, biennial session of the General Assembly. Governor Marcus H. Holcomb made the following appointments: for two years—Frederick S. Jones, New Haven, William A. Shanklin, Middletown, Charles L. Ames, Hartford; for four years—Walter D. Hood, Winsted, John G. Talcott, Vernon, Charles L. Torrey, Putnam; for six years—Frederick

M. Adler, New Haven, Julian W. Curtis, Greenwich, Henry A. Tirrell, Norwich.⁴

The State Board of Education has general supervision and control of the educational interests of the State. All members serve without compensation, only necessary expenses being paid. The secretary of the Board—its executive officer—is appointed by the Board, and is known as the “Commissioner of Education.” Since 1865, the position of secretary of the Board has been held by the following named persons: Daniel C. Gilman, August 12, 1865 to January 1, 1867; Birdsey G. Northrup, 1867 to 1883; Charles D. Hine, 1883 to July 1, 1920; Albert B. Meredith, the present secretary, from July 1, 1920. Mr. Asahel J. Wright, the chief clerk in the office of the State Board of Education, has held that position since his appointment, March 10, 1883.

The administration organization of the State Board now (1925) consists of eleven co-ordinate divisions with a number of bureaus, some independent and others associated with a division. *Divisions:* 1. Teacher training, including four normal schools, a summer normal school, model schools, in towns with less than twenty-five teachers. 2. Rural education with a director, three regional supervisors, 29 supervising agents and one special agent for elementary agriculture. 3. Secondary education, with a supervisor of secondary education. 4. Elementary education with a supervisor of elementary education whose activities are in towns other than the towns under the division of rural education. In the elementary division the supervisor

⁴ The three members appointed for two years, and the three appointed for four years were all re-appointed in 1921 and 1923, respectively. President William A. Shanklin of Wesleyan University, died in 1924, and Dr. Leroy A. Howland of Middletown, was appointed in his place.

has more immediate supervisory contacts with some fourteen towns which receive half the superintendent's salary up to eight hundred dollars. 5. Physical education and health director and two assistants, one an assistant in physical education and the other a nurse. 6. Attendance and employment, in charge of a director with nine assistants. 7. Department of Americanization with a director and a field agent. 8. Division of trade education with a director and ten trade schools. In this division are included sixteen agricultural departments and fifteen departments of home economics both under the Smith-Hughes law, conducted in high schools. These fields are supervised by an agricultural supervisor and a supervisor of home economics, respectively, reporting to the director of the division of trade education. 9. Division of accounts and purchases with a director. 10. Special education and standards with a director. 11. Research and surveys, with a director. *Bureaus:* Office management; claims; evening schools; teacher certification; tests and measurements; and publications, building construction and inspection.

Intimately associated with the State Board of Education and appointed by the Board is the Public Library Committee of which the commissioner is chairman.

VOCATIONAL (TRADE) SCHOOLS

In 1907, the legislature voted an appropriation of \$100,000.00 for the ensuing two years for the purpose of establishing trade education in the State. Believing that the apprenticeship system for training the youth in the industrial arts had ceased to function, and that the public schools were not organized to give such training, the people turned to a new type of school as their

only solution of the problem. In 1909, the appropriation of 1907 having reverted to the treasury, the Legislature again made an appropriation of \$100,000 for the ensuing two years, and vocational schools were opened the following year in Bridgeport and New Britain.

Trade schools were opened to pupils, fourteen years of age or over, and the success of the schools was assured from the first. The interest in trade schools increased rapidly, more schools were established, and there are now nine trade schools, located in different parts of the State as follows: Bridgeport, New Britain, Putnam, South Manchester, Torrington, Danbury, Meriden, Stamford, and Middletown. The school at Portland is operated in co-operation with the State Highway Department. Its purpose is to train automobile mechanics. Also, there are State-aided trade schools at New Haven and Waterbury, and part-time trade extension classes in Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury. So popular has the State trade school become in the State that the Legislature, in 1925, made an appropriation of \$590,000.00 for trade schools for the ensuing two years.

The unique feature of Connecticut's trade school system is the fact that the schools are supported entirely from State funds, and are under the immediate control of the State Board of Education. This means that the teachers are appointed, and the maintenance is provided by the state, the building, light, heat, and power being furnished by the municipality. Eighteen trades are taught in the nine all-day schools, not all in any one school, however. The subjects presented in any given school depend upon the industrial activities of a town or city in which the school is located. For instance,

cotton textile is in the course at Putnam, silk textile in South Manchester school, silversmith in Meriden, and so on. In addition to what might be restricted to trade schools, courses are given in applied mathematics, science, English, and civics.

The schools are in session fifty weeks in a year, the courses for boys include 4800 student-hours, for girls, 3600 student-hours. Students, between fourteen and eighteen years of age, living in a town, in which there is no trade school, may attend any State trade school in an adjoining town, the town's paying all transportation charges. At the close of the year, the State reimburses the town one-half the transportation charges, not to exceed \$35 per student per year. There are no tuition charges for any student. The graduates of these schools are picked up quickly by the industrial concerns in the State.

The following is a list of trades that are taught in one or more trade schools: machinist, autoscrew machinist, toolmaking, carpentry, masonry, plumbing, patternmaking, painting, printing, electrical, drafting, blueprint reading, silversmith, cotton textile, silk textile, automobile, dressmaking, and millinery. Several of the trades listed are found in every trade school in the State, while other trades are limited to a few schools, depending upon circumstances and conditions in any given community.

Since 1917, Connecticut has received Federal aid, under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes act, for teaching trades, agriculture and home economics, and for teacher training in agriculture and home economics. Trades are taught in the evening trade schools in these fields. In the Connecticut Agricultural College at Storrs, teachers are trained for agriculture and home

economics. One provision of the Federal act is that, in order to receive the Federal grant, the State must appropriate an equal amount of money for the same purpose. In 1926, the Federal money available will be \$91,189.23, which, with an equal amount from the State, will give for the teaching of agriculture and home economics the sum of \$163,189.23. This amount is to be expended under the direction of the State Board of Education, subject to the provisions of the Federal Act.

TEACHERS' RETIREMENT SYSTEM

The teachers' retirement system was organized by an act of the General Assembly in 1917, with the following provisions: (1) All teachers, who enter the service of the public schools, on, or after July 1, 1917, become automatically members of the retirement system; (2) any teacher, who shall have entered the service of the public schools prior to July 1, 1917, may at his or her option, become a member of the retirement system, provided that, whatever the date of membership may be, assessments must be paid from July 1, 1917; (3) each member of the retirement association is required to pay an annual assessment of five per cent of his or her current salary, provided that no assessment shall be less than twenty-five (25) dollars, nor more than one hundred (100) dollars; (4) any member of the retirement association may retire from service in the public schools on attaining the age of sixty years, provided that said member has had 15 years' service in the State, or on the completion of thirty-five years of service, not less than twenty of which shall have been in the public schools of the State, and not less than five shall directly precede the year of retirement; (5) the retirement allowance for

any teacher retiring on becoming sixty years of age, or on completing thirty-five years of service, will consist of (a) an annuity as computed on an actuarial basis by the Board of Retirement, and (b) of a pension from the State equal to the annuity; (6) any member, retiring from the State or from the profession, before becoming eligible for an annuity, is entitled to a refund of all that said member has paid in, with interest.

Also, the retirement system has a "disability" feature that enables a teacher, who has had ten or more years of service in the public schools, and who has become permanently incapable of rendering satisfactory service as a teacher by reason of mental or physical disability, to receive a proportionate annuity and pension, depending upon his or her salary and length of service.

The management of the retirement system is vested in a board of retirement, consisting of five members, as follows: the insurance commissioner of the State, the bank commissioner, the secretary of the State Board of Education, and two members, elected biennially—one at each election—by the members of the retirement association. All funds of the retirement association are in the custody and charge of the treasurer of the State, and the treasurer invests such funds as are not required for current disbursements in accordance with the laws of the State, governing the investment of saving banks funds. The funds of the retirement board in the hands of the State treasurer, December 31, 1924, amounted to \$1,-906,794.07. At the present time (1925) there are 7,275 members of the retirement association. Since the organization of the retirement system there has been disbursed to retiring members on account of age, service, or disability the sum of \$256,079.89. The Connecticut

teachers retirement system is recognized as one of the best in the country.

TEACHER CERTIFICATION

One of the outstanding features of the first five years of Commissioner Meredith's administration has been the development of State teacher certification. Up to 1922, each town certificated its teachers, each upon its own standards. The obvious result of such a plan was either a variety of standards or no acceptable standards at all. While the law for one hundred years required town school committees to give examinations to teachers in the subjects they were to teach, this was seldom done. From 1884 to 1922 State certificates were issued only upon public examination, no credit being given for professional training and no examination being required in professional subjects. These certificates were subject to an annual renewal and were required to be accepted by all school authorities in lieu of any other certificates. Beginning July 1, 1922 the law of 1921 provided for a new type of State certificates, and also for town certificates upon the basis of a minimum standard, set by the State Board of Education. This minimum standard for town certificates came to be the standard for State certificates, so that wherever town certificates are now issued their requirements exceed those of the State. In addition to the minimum standard for all entering the profession, the new certification law placed a premium upon normal school and college graduates, and upon work done in approved summer schools and by extension courses in colleges and universities. The goal aimed at is the issuance of certificates upon approved credentials only. 'In the transition from the old

to the new plan of certification provision was made for the validation of old forms of town and State certificates. The enactment and introduction of the State teacher certification law has raised the standard of the teaching profession in the State, which, sooner or later, will enhance the quality of the teaching.

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE GRANT

In many towns of the State, only a few years ago, the grand lists were too small for financing schools to any degree of success. Teachers' salaries were inadequate for securing any trained teachers, school equipment was poor, many school buildings were in disgraceful condition, and leading educators became convinced that something must be done to improve conditions in those towns. For that purpose, the General Assembly, in 1903, enacted what is known as the "Average Attendance Grant." Under the provisions of that law, "any town having a valuation of less than five hundred thousand dollars may annually receive from the treasurer of the State, upon order of the comptroller, a sum which will enable the town to expend annually for the support of schools twenty-five dollars for each child in average attendance," provided that the said State grant shall be expended only for teachers' wages, and provided, further, that the town shall have laid and collected a tax of not less than four mills on its grand list for the support of schools. The report of the secretary of the State Board of Education at that time stated that the advance in salaries was seen in most towns, but not in all.

The law promoted regularity of attendance. In fact, the law worked automatically: (a) If there were a large average attendance and a small grand list, the

town obtained a large grant; (b) if there were a large grand list and a small average attendance, the town obtained a small grant. While the report of the secretary pointed out that salaries in many cases had been raised, yet there had been no advance in the quality of the teaching or in the equipment and condition of school buildings. At the 1907 session of the Legislature an amendment was made to the act of 1903, which let in all towns having grand lists under one million dollars. In 1909, an amendment admitted all towns having grand lists under \$1,750,000.00. In 1911, an amendment admitted all towns having grand lists under \$2,500,000.00. Under the "Average Attendance Grant," the number of towns receiving State aid, ranged from 39 towns in 1904 to 82 towns in 1913, the increase in number of towns being brought about by changes in the grand lists of towns, and by successive amendments enabling towns of larger grand lists to receive State aid. The amounts paid to the towns ranged from \$36,326.05 in 1904 to \$129,725.84 in 1913.

In 1917, the General Assembly repealed the "Average Attendance Grant," and enacted "the Support of Schools Grant." The new law put the payments to towns on a percentage basis, each town receiving a certain percentage of the amount which had actually been paid for the salaries of teachers. Since the passage of this act, the towns have had a steady support, and great improvement has been made in the schools.

Under the "Support of Schools Grant," towns having a grand list of \$500,000.00 or less received a grant at the rate of sixty per cent on the amount paid for teachers' salaries; towns having a grand list of \$1,000,000.00 or less but more than \$500,000.00 received forty-five

per cent; towns having a grand list of \$1,500,000.00 or less, but more than \$1,000,000.00 received thirty per cent; towns having a grand list of \$2,000,000.00 or less, but more than \$1,500,000.00 received twenty-five per cent; and towns having a grand list of \$2,500,000.00 or less, but more than \$2,000,000.00, received fifteen per cent. By way of comparison, it may be stated that in 1917, under the "Average Attendance Grant," 63 towns received \$91,188.57 while in 1918, under the "Support of Schools Grant," 93 towns received \$156,725.19.

In 1919, the "Support of Schools Grants" of 1917 was repealed, and a new act passed, the classification of grand lists remaining the same, while the percentages on reimbursements on expenditures for salaries of teachers were increased as follows:

First class, 60 per cent to 75 per cent
Second class, 45 per cent to 60 per cent
Third class, 30 per cent to 45 per cent
Fourth class, 25 per cent to 30 per cent
Fifth class, 15 per cent to 20 per cent

Under the 1919 "Support of Schools Grant," 86 towns, for the year ending July 1, 1923, received \$357,500.10. At the 1923 session of the General Assembly changes were made in the classification of the grand lists, making nine classes in all, and in the percentages paid for each class, varying from 75 per cent to ten per cent. These four "grants" of 1903, 1917, 1919, and 1923, having one aim, but differing in method, indicate the purpose of the State to strengthen the cause of public school education in the smaller towns. Under the 1923 "Support of Schools Grant," 87 towns, for the year ending July 1, 1924, received \$377,217.18. In addition

to the percentage grants, the State Board may, at its discretion, award "special aid" to deserving towns.

RURAL EDUCATION

Connecticut has a unique plan for rural supervision. Towns with twenty-five teachers or less may make application for the appointment of a supervising agent, who thereby becomes the superintendent of the schools of the town, with the legal responsibilities of an "acting school visitor," as well as being a representative of the State Board of Education. Rural education presents two phases:—(1) the financing of the schools for equipment, salaries and administration, and (2) the supervision of instruction—subject-matter, methods of teaching and school management. Attention has already been directed to the financial aspect by the enactments of the "Average Attendance Grant" and the "Support of Schools Grant." Both of those "grants" gave great emphasis to the small-town movement.

Supervision of instruction in the small towns of Connecticut began in 1903—the same year that the "average attendance grant" was enacted—in which year, the Legislature passed a law providing that towns, having ten teachers or less, might petition the State Board of Education for the appointment of a supervising agent, who would perform the duties of an "acting school visitor" and of a superintendent of schools. All supervising agents are appointed by the State Board of Education, subject to the provisions of the certification law of 1921. The town at first fixed the amount of compensation, of which amount the town paid one-fourth and the State three-fourths. As an "acting school visitor," the agents derive their power from the town school committee, to

which they are responsible, as well as to the State Board.

The State system did not become popular at first. At the end of four years only twelve towns were under this form of supervision. In 1907, however, the Legislature increased the number of teachers in towns, which might ask for the appointment of a supervising agent, from ten to twenty or less, and in 1921 to twenty-five or less. Besides, the Legislature passed a law in 1909, that the State shall pay the entire salary of a supervising agent, instead of three-fourths, as at first. These legislative acts of 1907 and 1921 proved to be a great stimulus towards the appointment of State supervisors, so that, at the present time (1925), there are 99 towns, out of the 169 towns in the State, that receive this professional service. Usually, a supervising agent has from thirty-five to forty teachers and three or four towns under his supervision. These agents are held responsible to the town school committee and the State Board for the "organization, progress and tone of the school system in their charge, and for the classification and progress of the pupils therein."

Under a legislative act of 1909, any town, employing between twenty and thirty teachers, and in which there is no superintendent of schools or supervising agent, may by vote at any regular meeting choose its own superintendent, subject to the approval of the State Board of Education. Under the provisions of this act, the State will pay one-half of his salary, no payment, however, to exceed eight hundred dollars in any one year.

In 1909, the State Board of Education was authorized to maintain in any of the normal schools, one student, selected on the basis of scholarship and general fitness,

from each town in the State having a valuation of less than one and one-half million dollars (\$1,500,000.00), upon the recommendation of the town school committee or board of school visitors of such town. Under the provisions of this act, the living expenses of each student, not to exceed one hundred and fifty dollars each year, shall be provided by the State Board of Education, free of charge to each student. Every student entering any normal school under the provisions of this act enters into an agreement with the State Board of Education to remain in the normal school for two years, unless in poor health, and to teach in one of the towns, from which such students were appointed, for a period of three years after graduation, unless excused by the State Board.

Under the provisions of a legislative act of 1913, there may be organized in each town having twenty teachers or less a "model school" for observation and for instruction of the training class, conducted by the supervisor. The State Board of Education subsidizes these classes by a payment not exceeding three dollars a week additional for each teacher in such "model schools." In the functioning of this law, as well as that of 1909, the State is doing what it can to furnish trained teachers for the small towns.

By the liberal provisions of the foregoing enactments the schools in the rural sections have been greatly improved. Better equipment is furnished, school buildings are in better condition, higher salaries are paid to teachers, more trained teachers are secured for the schools, courses of study are made more uniform through conferences with the director of rural education and with the commissioner of education, many one-

room schools have been discontinued to the betterment of the children—a reduction from 1,100 one-room schools in 1900 to less than 600 in 1925—and a greater interest in education on the part of the people is manifested. These are some of the outstanding features in the administration of the State system.

The development of the rural schools, to a marked degree of success, the establishing of vocational (trade schools in different sections of the State, and the extension of the public library service, throughout the small towns of the State, are some of the progressive features of the administration of Hon. Charles D. Hine, who, for thirty-seven and a half years, was secretary of the state board of education. Mr. Hine, a graduate of Yale university, devoted a large part of his life to the cause of public school education in Connecticut. As an educator, he was resourceful in initiative, far-sighted in policy, and courageous in action. Mr. Hine died in Winsted, August 27, 1923.

CONCLUSION

During the last twenty years, Connecticut has made many notable advances in matters pertaining to education, and these are clearly seen (a) in the financial assistance granted to the smaller towns in the State, so that better schools have been maintained; (b) in the instruction in trades, for the opening of positions of employment in the industries to the youth of the State, and for the maintenance of Connecticut's industrial supremacy; (c) in the training of teachers in our normal schools, so that children in both urban and rural communities may be taught by competent, well-trained teachers; and (d) in the attention given to health-training and the develop-

ment of physical power, and in the teaching of the adult immigrant. These, together with all other educational agencies, touching every phase of education, and encouraged by the generous support of the State, ought to assure Connecticut a high rating in education.

HENRY BARNARD*

Although the evolution of the public school system of Connecticut to its present stage of efficiency is due to many thoughtful and far-seeking workers, there is one man who stands out above all others in the distinguished service he rendered the State. For that reason, we believe it is fitting that his life-work as an educator should receive special mention in this chapter. We refer to Henry Barnard.

In 1837, or seven years after graduating from Yale college, Henry Barnard was elected as representative to the Connecticut Legislature. His most distinguished service here was the originating of an act which provided for the supervision of the common schools of the State. As a result of this law, whose passage was largely due to his influence, the Board of Commissioners of common schools came into being and Henry Barnard was chosen as its secretary.

In 1843, he was called to Rhode Island to become State superintendent of education, a position which he held for six years. During his term of office he did a notable work in regenerating the common schools of that State.

In 1849 he was made principal of the new normal school at New Britain and superintendent of schools in Connecticut, filling this double office till 1855. It was during these years that he attained international fame

* Written by W. F. Gordy.



Henry Barnard

through the many public speeches he made all over the country, the able and scholarly reports he submitted to the State Legislature, and the works he published. After his resignation in 1853, he set himself to publish an educational magazine of world-wide scope. This was the "American Journal of Education," which was issued more or less regularly from 1855 to 1893. It grew into 31 volumes and constituted the greatest achievement of Dr. Barnard's long and distinguished career.

In 1867 he was appointed as the first commissioner of the newly established United States Bureau of Education. His first report was a most painstaking and scholarly survey of the educational field in the country, but Congress failed to approve of his recommendations. He resigned in 1870 and again returned to Hartford.

With this resignation, his public career came to an end. The remaining 30 years of his life he devoted largely to the publication of the "American Journal of Education," but he also travelled extensively, delivered many public addresses and received honors from the entire educational world. On his eighty-sixth birthday, an assemblage met in the Hall of Representatives in the State Capitol to do him honor and it was attended by the Governor of Connecticut, the United States Commissioner of Education and other distinguished citizens.

Everyone who knows of his nation-wide service will approve of the following tribute to him: "Dr. Barnard was a majestic figure in the history of American education, worthy of the veneration and gratitude of all. With the name of Horace Mann, his name will always be linked as one who roused public interest in public education, who convinced people of the need of pro-

fessionally trained teachers, of proper schoolhouses, of adequate educational apparatus of sufficient educational literature, and of a course of study adapted to the needs of all the youth of all sections of the country.”

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT

Part II

BY WILBUR F. GORDY

Born near Salisbury, Maryland, June 14, 1854; son of Elijah Melson and Martha Ellen G.; A. B. Wesleyan University, 1880; married Isabel Drummond Hunter, July 9, 1889. Superintendent school, Ansonia, Conn., 1881-1884; supervising principal Second North School, Hartford, Conn., 1884-1904; superintendent schools, Springfield, Mass., 1904-1911. Lecturer on school topics and contributor to educational journals. Was a member of Committee of Eight appointed by American History Association, and chairman of History Committee of American School Citizenship League; is president Hartford Board of Education. Author: *A School History of the United States*, *American Leaders and Heroes*, *American Explorers*, *Colonial Days*, *Elementary History of the United States*, *American Beginnings in Europe*, *Stories of Early American History*, *Stories of Late American History*, *Abraham Lincoln*, *Causes and Meaning of the Great War*, *History of the United States and Leaders in Making America*. Address, 104 Gillett Street, Hartford, Conn.

YALE UNIVERSITY

IN October, 1701, the Connecticut Colonial Assembly adopted a charter for the Collegiate School of Connecticut. The number of trustees as provided by the charter was to be not less than seven nor more than eleven. Ten clergymen were appointed. Seven of them met in Saybrook in November, 1701, and organized the school, locating it temporarily in that town. In 1716 the Colonial Assembly voted that the permanent location should be in New Haven. The new building for the school was begun there in 1717, and was dedicated and named Yale college, after Elihu Yale, in 1718, although the school itself was not called Yale college until 1745, when the Assembly granted a revised charter. Yale is the third oldest college in the country, Harvard being the first to receive a charter and William and Mary the second.

As this chapter is to consider the history of Yale from 1818 to the present, we will not take up in detail the growth of the college prior to that date. It should be stated, however, that Rev. Timothy Dwight was president in 1795-1817, which was a period of unprecedented prosperity and an increasing number of students. From the south and southwest young men began to enter Yale, and they gave the college its distinctive character as a national institution. Even at that time the university principle was recognized. President Dwight planned the development of departments of professional schools. The Medical School was established during his administration and the organization of the Divinity School was considered.

The longest presidency in the history of the college was that of Jeremiah Day, from 1817 to 1846, or 29 years. He was not ordained a minister of the gospel

until the day he succeeded to the presidency. Through his "well-balanced judgment, cautiousness about changes, regularity and steadiness in the development of matured plans, and other traits similar to these, he exercised a great, though unobtrusive, power, and left a memory for universal veneration."

Under his able direction improvements were made in the courses of instruction, and the scope and thoroughness of examinations for admission were constantly increased. The elementary subjects—English grammar, geography, and arithmetic—were discarded; political economy and modern languages were introduced, and graduate work was offered in non-professional courses. In 1827, the question of the study of dead languages and of electives came up, but after careful consideration these languages were allowed the same status in the curriculum as before and electives were not added.

In 1843 the library was made a separate department.

The outstanding events in the academic life of the college during President Day's term of office were the development of the professional schools. In 1822 instruction began in the Divinity School; in 1824 a private law school in New Haven was affiliated with the college, thus establishing the School of Law; and in 1846 the Department of Philosophy and Arts was organized and graduate courses were regularly established.

In 1832 the present system of class societies began with the founding of Skull and Bones, which selects 15 men each year from the senior class. In 1841 a rival society was formed on the same general plan,—Scroll and Key; and in 1883, Wolf's Head, the third senior society, was organized. In 1837, Alpha Delta Phi, the first of the Greek letter fraternities, came to Yale; in



YALE COLLEGE

In the Consulship of Plancus, 1870-1880, showing the Old Chapel, built 1824.

1838 Psi U was founded, a junior society; and in 1843 D. K. E. was founded, also a junior society.

In 1846 Theodore Woolsey became president and remained in office until 1871. He had been professor of Greek in the college for 15 years before he was called to the presidency. He was a profound scholar and thinker, and had spent many years of study abroad. President Porter, his successor, said of him: "Few men have been more distinguished in this country for eminence in so great a variety of departments of scholarship and culture, and few men have secured for themselves the solid respect of so great a number of their countrymen for high personal and moral excellence." His high standards gave tone to the undergraduate life and the college developed along intellectual lines. Distinguished professors who joined the staff added much to the strength and reputation of Yale.

During the 25 years of President Woolsey's administration there was progress without precedent in the range and quality of instruction given and in the amount and character of study required. A new stimulus was given to the creation of special endowments, the income of which was used as rewards for the promotion of scholarship.

Although graduate courses were organized in 1846, the Graduate School was not established till 1847. In 1847 the school of applied chemistry was founded, and in 1852 the school of engineering. In 1854 these schools were combined under the name of the Yale Scientific School, and in 1863, in recognition of the gifts and endowment by Mr. Joseph E. Sheffield, it was called the Sheffield Scientific School. The establishment of this school was the most important event of President Wool-

sey's term. In 1866 the School of Fine Arts was established.

In 1869 at a meeting of the alumni a committee was appointed to consider what change, if any, was desirable in the corporation, since the alumni felt that they had no voice in the management of the college. This committee advised that the State of Connecticut be requested to give up the privilege of having six senators on the corporation, and that six graduates be elected, one each year to take the place of the senators. The State responded favorably, and in 1872 six alumni were chosen as members of the corporation. These representatives are elected by graduates of five or more years' standing.

The successor of Dr. Woolsey was Noah Porter, whose administration began in 1871 and continued till 1886. President Porter had been professor of philosophy and metaphysics since 1846. His book on the "American Colleges and the American Public" had called the attention of the country to him as an educator, and his work on "The Human Intellect" had given him high rank among the learned men throughout the land. His sympathetic and personal interest won for him the loyalty and affection of the student body.

In March, 1872, the corporation voted: "Whereas Yale College has, by successive establishments of the various departments of instruction, attained the form of a university:

Resolved: That it be recognized as comprising the four departments of which a university is commonly understood to consist, viz., the departments of theology, of law, of medicine, of philosophy and

Resolved: That the department of philosophy and the arts be recognized as comprising, in addition to the

school of fine arts, the three faculties which severally instruct the members of the university who are prosecuting their studies as candidates for the degree of Ph. D., A. B., or Ph. B.

In 1876 the degree of M. A. was first given, and also a graduate curriculum in law provided, Yale being the first institution either in England or America to offer an advanced course for the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

In 1876, also, the Elective System was partially substituted for the fixed curriculum, a further extension of the elective system taking place in 1884.

In 1884 Yale assumed complete control of the Medical School, which had up to this time been under the joint jurisdiction of the college and the Connecticut Medical Society.

In 1886 Timothy Dwight was inaugurated president and his term of office continued to 1899. He was grandson of former President Dwight, a member of the Divinity faculty, and a champion of the university idea. He had a lifelong association with Yale, and was genial and witty. He made constant benefactions to the college in secret and never drew his salary.

During his term the number of students and of faculty members more than doubled. Elective studies were increasingly provided.

In 1887 the Connecticut Legislature authorized the name Yale University. Fellowships and scholarships were being established and, together with the growth of the university, they made the machinery of the college more complicated. President Dwight began the process of welding the separate schools into one body. Indeed, the central idea of his administration was the

development of the college into a university. He urged the change of name at a meeting of the corporation and the corporation requested the State Legislature to authorize the name Yale University.

In 1892 the doors of the Graduate School were opened to women, and in 1894 the School of Music was established.

Arthur Twining Hadley took up his administrative duties as president in 1899 and continued in office till 1921. He was the first president who was not an ordained minister of the gospel and the youngest man to date who has been elected to the presidency. Dr. Hadley had a wide range of exact learning and was an authority in railroad science.

The central and outstanding feature of his administration was the development of the university idea. He found undergraduate schools or colleges of high standing and also graduate and professional schools giving an invaluable service, but the departments and schools were loosely related. Their co-ordination as parts of one harmonious modern university system called for great administrative ability. The university tendency, however, culminated in 1919 in a reorganization movement, which was successfully carried out by the Yale Corporation through its committees on educational policy that co-operated with the alumni and a committee in a plan for university development.

President Hadley also put emphasis on the graduate and professional schools. Requirements were increased for entrance into the School of Law and the Medical School.

A committee worked for two years in preparation for the Bi-Centennial Celebration, and brought to pass a

jubilee never equalled in the history of this country. Nearly 4,700 graduates returned to their alma mater; representatives of leading universities here and abroad were present, and the President of the United States was the most distinguished guest of the occasion. The departments had special exhibits and collections; the Art School had made an historical collection of paintings; the Steinert collection of musical instruments was displayed, and the Peabody Museum had added gigantic fossils which it took months to mount. The library exhibited a display of relics pertaining to the history of Yale and the greetings in all languages and forms which had come from universities all over the world. The presentation of honorary degrees was the crowning event, especially since Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, came to receive a degree that had been designed for him as a private citizen.

To commemorate the bi-centennial a fund of \$2,000,000 was raised by graduates and friends of the university. This provided what are called the bi-centennial group of buildings as a lasting monument of the anniversary. The group includes (1) an administrative building dedicated as Woodbridge Hall; (2) a new dining hall called University Hall, and (3) an auditorium named for President Woolsey. Newberry Memorial Organ was given to the university by the family of John Strong Newberry.

The School of Forestry was organized in 1900.

In March, 1919, the Yale Corporation adopted Yale's Reconstruction Plan, resulting in the present organization of the university. Some of the outstanding features of the plan—which is the culmination of the university idea—are included in the following:

1. Professors of all grades are elected to chairs in Yale University and assigned to work in schools or departments.

2. Co-ordination of schools of the university, so that the principle of interchange of courses and faculties shall be applied.

3. Recognition of the salary adjustments and increases required to put university professorships on the proper basis.

4. Establishment of the common undergraduate freshman year, known as the Freshman Year.

5. The re-definition of undergraduate schools as follows:

a. The college is the university undergraduate school for non-professional study in the liberal arts and sciences.

b. The Sheffield Scientific School is the university undergraduate school for professional study in science and engineering.

6. Establishment of group courses in the college under this reconstruction plan.

The freshman year is common to both schools—Yale college and Sheffield Scientific School. The freshman year has its own separate and distinct faculty. The function of the freshman year is to prepare first year students for advanced work in the two schools and to assist them in making a wise choice of a course. The Dean, Registrar, or specially assigned counsellor advises with the students. Yale college courses lead to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Philosophy and require four years. The Sheffield Scientific School course leads to the degree of Bachelor of Science, and requires four years instead of three or five, as pre-

viously. Ex-President Hadley says that the common freshman year is the most striking single contribution which Yale has made in recent years to the improvement of collegiate methods.

John Rowland Angell became president in 1921. For more than 30 years he had been a teacher of psychology in the University of Minnesota and later at Chicago University, where he had also been dean for 12 years. His character, scholarship and public spirit are in line with the highest traditions of the office. The department of education was established in 1920-21 with an enrollment during the first year of 530 students.

A School of Fine Arts, as we have seen, was established in 1866. Yale was the first institution to express the principle that a separate school for instruction in the fine arts comes within the scope of a university. Through a gift of \$1,000,000 from Edward F. Harkness a department of dramatic art in the School of Fine Arts was established in 1924.

At present (1925) the University has ten schools:

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Yale College | } | undergraduate schools |
| 2. Scientific School | | |
| 3. Graduate School | | |
| 4. School of Medicine | | |
| 5. School of Divinity | | |
| 6. School of Law | | |
| 7. School of Fine Arts | | |
| 8. School of Music | | |
| 9. School of Forestry | | |
| 10. School of Nursing | | |

In the Report of President Hadley for 1920-21 he says: "The terms of admission for undergraduates have been readjusted to meet the needs of the country as a whole. Twenty years ago the college required can-

didates for admission to present the results of four years' school work in Latin and three in Greek, and even the Sheffield School required two years of Latin. A great many good schools, particularly in the West, were unable to give their boys this preparation; and it became necessary for Yale to choose between its character as a national institution and its position as an upholder of the classical traditions. It chose the former."

Continuing, he says: "The old lines of demarcation between the college and the scientific school are breaking down, and now they have the joint freshman year—with a faculty of its own. The select course in the scientific school being done away with, it was designed to meet requirements of two groups: (1) Men who wanted to know enough science to employ experts intelligently in their business; (2) men who had no professional interest in scientific study, but who wanted a modern instead of a classical college course. Under the present arrangement the first group will go to the scientific school and the second will go to the college, finding under the elective system what line they are fitted for."

The following institutions are connected with the University:

The libraries

Peabody Museum of Natural History

Church of Christ at Yale University

Yale University Press

Yale Publishing Association

Department of Public Health

Yale University Athletic Association

Alumni Organizations

At present the Yale libraries have 1,500,000 volumes, with 40,000 annual accessions, and the current numbers

of over 1,200 publications of learned societies and scholarly periodicals. Over 30 special libraries are connected with the various schools and departments.

A gift of George Peabody of London established the Peabody Museum of Natural History. With the museum is indissolubly connected the memory of Othniel C. Marsh, who took the chair of palaeontology in 1866 and gave 30 years to research and amassing unrivalled collection of fossils. He organized a series of Yale scientific expeditions and in six years brought back 400 fossils new to science, and in 1870 his expedition collected 15,000 specimens. As a result, the palaeontological collection is unsurpassed by any educational institution in the country. A chance remark at a dinner brought Huxley to this country to see it, in 1876, and he said of it: "I can truly say that as far as my knowledge extends, there is nothing in any way comparable for extent or for the care with which the remains have been got together or for their scientific importance, to the series of fossils which Professor Marsh has brought together."

The Yale University Press was founded with the approval of the Yale Corporation by George Parmly Day for publication of works possessing permanent interest and value. In 1920 Mr. Day presented the entire capital stock to the university. Under agreement, no manuscript is published by the Press until it has been approved by the University Council's Committee on Publication. The Press has issued 692 volumes in fields of literature, science, economics, belles lettres, art, religion, history, and government.

The Yale Publishing Association owns and publishes "The Yale Review" and "The Yale Alumni Weekly."

The members of the holding company are Yale graduates. "The Yale Review" is conducted independently, though the editor is a member of the faculty and his election is subject to the approval of the University Council's Committee on Publications.

The Department of University Health has general supervision of student health and requires a medical examination of every undergraduate every year.

By vote of the Yale Corporation the athletics are under the jurisdiction of a Board of Control of representatives of the university and alumni and undergraduates. This is the Yale University Athletic Association.

A graduate director of athletics is in charge of athletic grounds and equipment. The general athletic ground (first secured in 1881) has 122 acres, and includes the Yale Bowl—seating 74,786 and covering 25 acres—and four other football fields, four baseball diamonds, a running track, soccer and lacrosse fields, a polo field, 26 tennis courts, and shooting traps. The Lanham Field House, with locker and shower space for 2,000, was completed in 1924. An 18 hole golf course will be completed in 1925. The Adie boat house in New Haven harbor has equipment for 20 crews, and the Bob Cook boat house at Derby for 12 crews. There is provision for indoor sports and progressive gymnastic training in the gymnasium. From Thanksgiving to April 1st work in the gymnasium is required of the freshmen class.

The organization of Yale Alumni is by groups according to classes, localities of residence, and special interests. An Alumni Advisory Board serves to secure careful discussion of university interests by a group of accredited representatives of graduates. Each alumni association



THE HARKNESS MEMORIAL, YALE UNIVERSITY, ERECTED 1917-1921.
James Gamble Rogers, Yale 1889, Architect. View in Branford Court Showing
Wrexham Tower, designed from the Tower of Wrexham Church in Wales
Where Yale's Patron Saint is Buried.

of 100 or more members is entitled to one representative, and each of 200 or more to two.

The Board of Trustees, known as the Yale Corporation, includes the president of the university, the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, six graduates of the university elected by vote of the graduates of at least five years' standing for a term of six years, and ten fellows known as successors of the original trustees.

President Hadley in his report for 1920-21 says, in effect: The training which a university gives its students represents but a small part of its influence. Its work should be a source of inspiration to the community and its teaching should be a help to the schools of the State and of the country. Its investigators should be in active contact with the country's business—its creative work in science and letters should be published.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Dr. Hadley continues, contact between college and public life was inadequate. In those days 20 times as much was said of athletics as of achievements in science or letters. Many of the best professors and scholars were unknown. Today lines of contact have been established. Yale's collections are thrown open to the people of New Haven. The music school is a center of musical culture for the city and State.

"One source of Yale's isolation in the latter part of the nineteenth century," says Dr. Hadley, "lay in its policy toward the public schools. The attitude of the faculty was not exactly one of indifference, but it often looked like it. Yale college had been organized on classical lines, and most of the members of the faculty were slow to change. They wanted boys prepared in Latin, Greek and mathematics. They overvalued training in

those subjects, and undervalued the powers of able boys who had studied other things. Members of the faculty tended to say to school teachers and superintendents: 'We are arranging the best course that we can. If you do not prepare for that course, your pupils can go elsewhere for their final preparation.' The evil effects of this policy were heightened by the fact that we had made no adequate provision for the training of teachers in secondary schools. Our Graduate School devoted its chief attention to the development of doctors of philosophy, who generally laid more stress on research than on teaching, and hoped to become college professors on the basis of such research."

This attitude slowly but radically changed, and President Hadley says: "I regard this [change] as one of the most important achievements of the last 20 years. We now recognize that the university is part of a large whole and that it must do the most it can for the training of the country." He goes on to say: "In my opinion, the chief prospective value of our new department of education will come from promoting this spirit of co-operation. Yale will probably never be a place for a very large teachers' college. Its situation in a city of moderate size puts it at some disadvantage in this respect. But it can and should be a place to which the teachers of the country will look for the same kind of leadership that we have already assumed in law and medicine, in music and forestry."

"A university is distinguished from a college not so much by the universal range of subjects taught, as by the universal recognition which its achievements command, whether they be in a few lines or in many. It was in this particular that American universities fell farthest

behind those in Europe. They did not get into the game. Practical men in business and in politics did not look to them as places for getting advice as to how the affairs of life could be most successfully conducted. America had allowed the teaching of theory and the study of practical problems to get too much separated. In this respect the contrast with France or Germany showed itself very strongly. If a practical problem in France or Germany needed solution, men looked to the universities for help in solving it. This caused technical problems of every kind to be studied more thoroughly, gave greater vitality to university teaching and made the career of a college professor an attractive one for the most ambitious men."

"When the war came and we had to do our technical work with no help from Germany and comparatively little from France, people awoke to the necessity of asking advice from colleges on a good many lines where they had not previously done so. This gave our professors an opportunity to show what they could do—first in war, and afterward in peace. By our promptness in organizing an artillery school, by our development as a place of training for army laboratory men, and by our readiness to let our professors go into every line of government work, from the preparation of depth bombs to the study of the races of Eastern Europe, we rendered direct and conspicuous public service in a way that had not been possible in previous times. We have made it our effort to retain the advantages thus gained. We are giving advanced courses of technical instruction to officers of the United States Army. We are building laboratories where we can do pioneer work in industrial science both for the government and for private corpo-

rations. We are encouraging all agencies, whether public or private, to look to us for the same kind of help that the universities of France and Germany have accustomed themselves to render. Our whole system, both of instruction and laboratory organization, in the Medical School and the Graduate School, is based upon this modern conception of public service."

The extent of Yale's national service is suggested by her enrollment in 1923-24, which was as follows:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| University candidates for degrees or certificates..... | 3,957 |
| Others | 490 |
| Total | 4,447 |
| Graduate School, candidates for degrees..... | 435 |
| Not candidates for degrees..... | 385 |
| | 820 |
| Endowment of the University, 1900..... | \$4,942,166.04 |
| Endowment of the University, 1924..... | 39,697,259.08 |

TRINITY COLLEGE

The foundation of a second college in Connecticut was long delayed. Agitation was begun as early as 1801 to organize a college under the care of the Episcopal Church of Connecticut, but religious opposition was strong, and as there was also a fear of weakening Yale's position, the attempt was abandoned until 1818. After several years of controversy, the Legislature finally granted a charter to Washington College May 14, 1823. The trustees were empowered to locate the new college in such town as they should judge most expedient. This charter was granted upon the petition of "sundry inhabitants of the State of Connecticut, of the denomination of

Christians called the Protestant Episcopal Church," averring that "great advantages would accrue to the State as well as to the general interests of literature and science, by establishing within the State another collegiate institution." In accordance with the wish of the petitioners, the charter contained the provision that the ordinances and by-laws of the new college "shall not make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privilege in the said college, and that no president or professor or other officer shall be made ineligible for or by reason of any religious tenet that he may profess, or be compelled by the by-laws or otherwise to subscribe to any religious tests whatsoever."

The foundations of this college were based on four cardinal propositions:

1. That the foundation was in perpetuity by adherents of the Episcopal Church.
2. That it was to be to the advantage of the State.
3. That it was intended to advance the general interests of literature and science.
4. That it was to couple intellectual freedom with religious oversight in education.

Fifty thousand dollars was pledged within a year for the new college, and as the people of Hartford subscribed three-quarters of this sum, Hartford was chosen as the permanent home. The original site of the college consisted of 14 acres, on the hill now occupied by the State Capitol, and described at that time as a half mile from the center of the city.

A brown stone dormitory known as Jarvis Hall, designed by Solomon Willard, architect of Bunker Hill Monument, and Seabury Hall, designed by Samuel F. B. Morse, were begun in June, 1824. On September 23,

1824, the new college formally opened its doors to students, and academic work was begun in a building on Main Street.

The first president was Thomas Church Brownell, then Bishop of Connecticut, who served the college from 1824 to 1831. He was a man of scholarly tastes and gentle wisdom, and under him the new college prospered.

The first commencement in 1827 graduated 10 students with B. A. degree, the exercises being held in Center Church. In the early days, students were received for a partial course of two years, at the end of which they received an "English diploma."

The second president was Nathaniel Sheldon Wheaton, a warm friend and generous benefactor of the college, and during his incumbency, 1831-37, a system of permanent endowment was established. Silas Totten succeeded him from 1837-1848. The fourth president, John Williams, was the first alumnus to hold the office and he served from 1848-1853.

In 1845 the name of the college was changed from Washington to Trinity and a second dormitory, Brownell Hall, was built. After Dr. Williams' retirement, he was made honorary chancellor and bishop of Connecticut.

His successors in the presidency during the thirteen years following his resignation were David Raynes Goodwin, 1853-1860, Samuel Eliot, 1860-64, and John Barrett Kerfoot, 1864-66. During the Civil War Trinity sent 70 men into the ranks of the Union Army from its alumni of 400 and undergraduates of 80.

From 1866-1874 Abner Jackson, the second alumnus elected to the presidency, guided the policy of the college. During his term (in 1872) the trustees were persuaded



AERIAL VIEW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD

to sell the college and its site to the city of Hartford to be used for the new State capitol. With the sum paid, \$600,000, the trustees bought a tract of 80 acres on the trap rock ridge lying in the southwest part of the city, and after Dr. Jackson had visited England and secured the services of a famous architect, Thomas Burgess, to prepare plans for the college, three buildings—Seabury, Jarvis and Brownell Halls—were begun. On their completion in 1878 the college moved to its new location. The original plan for Trinity, as worked out by Mr. Burgess, was for three great quadrangles of academic buildings. It was on a very extensive scale, with the intention of erecting at once what would be needed and of leaving for later years, or a later century, the completion of the whole.

Thomas Ruggles Pynchon, another alumnus, 1874–1880, had charge of the building of the structures and of the removal of the college, and in 1881 another building, Northam Towers, completed the west side of one of the quadrangles. From 1880–83 the college was in charge of Professor John Brocklesby, and in 1883 George Williamson Smith was elected president. He continued the work of building by erecting a new gymnasium, the Jarvis laboratories, and the observatory, and the Boardman Hall of Natural History.

Flavel Sweeten Luther, the fourth alumnus chosen to the presidency, after an extended period of teaching in the college, was president from 1904 to 1919. Williams Memorial, containing the library and administrative office, was completed in 1914. During Dr. Luther's term Trinity played its part in the World War. Of 2,000 alumni and undergraduates 518 were in the army or navy and 108 served in other capacities besides the

formation of the Students' Army Training Corps at the college.

After Dr. Luther's retirement, Professor Henry A. Perkins served as president until Remsen B. Ogilby, the present incumbent, was elected in 1920.

In 1923 the centennial of the college was celebrated with appropriate and impressive services. Commemoration Sunday, June 10, took the form of an outdoor memorial service for the men in service. A campaign was carried on to increase the endowment of the college as a memorial gift, and George E. Hoadley was the largest giver of \$200,000. The present endowment of the college is \$2,182,000. Its students number 268 and its faculty 34.

Trinity was one of the first colleges to teach history and political science, modern languages and physical science, and to give them an important place in the curriculum.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the seminaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church were in a flourishing condition, the leading minds of the church became convinced of the need of a university of collegiate rank to be located either in New England or New York. At this juncture, a seeming accident directed their attention to Middletown, Connecticut. In 1825 Captain Alden Partridge, a former superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point, opened in Middletown the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy. Public spirited citizens erected two buildings for the school, and for several years it prospered; but a failure to obtain a charter from the

Legislature caused its removal in 1829 to Norwich, Vermont.

Rev. Laban Clark, presiding elder of the New Haven district, had his attention called to the buildings left vacant by the school and immediately offered to be one of ten to buy them at the price offered, \$5,000. The matter was given serious consideration at a session of the New York Conference in May, 1829, and a committee was appointed, which soon issued proposals inviting several towns to compete for the location of the college. In response, the trustees of the Academy at Middletown offered the entire real estate, valued at about \$30,000, on two conditions: First, that it should be perpetually used for a college or university; second, that the sum of \$40,000 should be raised for the endowment of the college. Eighteen thousand dollars of this sum was raised by the citizens of Middletown and the rest by other friends, trustees were chosen, and the college was organized under the name of Wesleyan University.

It is the oldest college in the country founded and maintained by the Methodist church.

At the first meeting of the trustees in August, 1830, Wilbur Fisk, then principal of Wilbraham Academy, was chosen first president of the new college, and in October of that year a preparatory school was opened in the buildings. In May, 1831, a charter was granted by the Legislature and in the following September the college opened its doors to students. At the outset, the proficiency of each student was made the basis of classification, and any student able to pass the requisite examination was to receive a diploma, regardless of the time he had spent in college. This plan was soon abandoned, however, and the usual classification adopted.

Wesleyan University was one of the first colleges to establish a scientific course for those whose tastes preferred their interest in the ordinary classical course.

The first president, Wilbur Fisk, was a man of fine tact and much wisdom, prudent, with high administrative ability, personal charm, and unfailing loyalty to the college and faith in its future. He served from 1831 to his death in 1839.

Stephen Olin was elected as his successor. He was in Europe at the time, and upon his return, found himself in such poor health that he resigned in 1841. Nathan Bangs accepted the presidency with reluctance and in 1842 resigned in favor of Dr. Olin, whose health had then improved. His fame as a pulpit orator had preceded him, but his health was too feeble for him to do much teaching or to attend to the administrative details continuously. The duties of the administration fell upon the vice-president, Augustus W. Smith, and after the death of Dr. Olin in 1851 and a year's interval, Dr. Smith succeeded to the presidency.

It was during Dr. Smith's administration that the permanent existence and prosperity of the university was assured by the raising of an endowment fund of \$100,000, four-fifths of which was actually paid in and invested.

Upon the resignation of Dr. Smith in 1857, Joseph Cummings was chosen for the vacant place, the first alumnus to be so honored. Several substantial gifts added to the material resources during his term. Twenty-seven thousand dollars was raised by the alumni for a library fund, and a new library building with a capacity of 100,000 volumes was erected at a cost of \$40,000 by Isaac Rich of Boston. The boarding hall

was remodelled into an observatory hall, a memorial chapel costing about \$60,000 was erected in memory of the students and alumni who served in the Civil War, and the Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science, costing about \$100,000, was built by Orange Judd of the class of 1847.

Dr. Cummings resigned the presidency in 1875 and Cyrus D. Foss, of the class of 1854, was the second alumnus elected to the office. In spite of the large financial gifts of the previous few years, Dr. Foss found the college in sore financial straits, largely due to the panic of 1873. The expenditures were \$46,000 annually, while the income was only \$20,000. During his term of office Dr. Foss met all the current expenses of the college, paid the debt, and \$250,000 was added to the endowment. Forty thousand dollars of this was the Alumni Centennial Fund. But it was not the financial success alone that marked the administration of President Foss. His noble character, his kindness and courtesy, and his enthusiasm for goodness could not fail of their effect upon all who knew him. His influence was itself an education of the best sort.

The third alumnus to be president was John W. Beach, elected in 1880 to succeed Dr. Foss. During his administration the endowment fund was further increased by a gift of \$450,000 from George I. Seney. Upon the retirement of Dr. Beach in 1887, an interregnum of two years followed, ending in the election of Bradford P. Raymond in 1889, who served until 1908. His term of office was marked by further large gifts to the college as follows: Two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars from Daniel Ayres; \$250,000 from Daniel B. Fayerweather.

W. A. Shanklin succeeded Dr. Raymond in 1909 and served until 1923, when he retired because of ill health and was made president-emeritus. He died in 1924. The year before his retirement he was away on leave of absence and Stephen Henry Olin was acting president. The acting president for 1923-1924 was Leroy Albert Howland.

During Dr. Shanklin's term of office there were two campaigns for the increase of the endowment fund, the first for one million dollars and the second for three millions. The success of both these campaigns was largely due to the able and untiring effort of President Shanklin.

In November, 1924, James Lukens McConaughy was elected president.

In the early days at Wesleyan there were no electives in the curriculum. Since 1873 there have been three parallel courses offered, each covering four years, the classical B. A., Latin Scientific B. Phil., and the Scientific B. S.

In 1872 the policy of co-education was adopted. Four women entered that year, but the number continued small up to 1890. In 1896-97 there were 63 women in college. In March, 1899, the trustees authorized the appointment of a joint committee of trustees, faculty and alumni to consider the whole question of co-education. As a result of their deliberations, in June, 1900, the trustees voted that the number of women to be admitted to the college in the future should be limited to 20 per cent of the total number of students in the preceding year. This compromise, however, was unsatisfactory, and finally in 1909 the trustees voted that no women should be admitted to any class later than that



SOUTH COLLEGE AND NORTH COLLEGE OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY IN 1831
 Photographed from an old map of Middletown.



WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, MIDDLETOWN
 Aeroplane View of Campus Taken in 1923.

entering in 1909. With the graduation of the class of 1912 the presence of women undergraduates ceased. The trustees in a later resolution made it clear that women may be admitted as graduate students and a few have availed themselves of the privilege.

Between 1860 and 1880 there was much agitation among the alumni for a change in the name Wesleyan University, as it was argued that neither word was appropriate. In the beginning the trustees had hoped to establish a university by building up a group of professional schools, but this plan was later abandoned and the institution accepted as its sole function the teaching of science, philosophy, and literature. However, the development of graduate study, which has characterized the later years of Wesleyan, seemed to render the word university more appropriate, though not in the original sense of the word.

As the college grew, as denominational zeal more and more gave place to zeal for a common Christianity, as the alumni went into other professions besides the ministry, it was felt that the adjective Wesleyan, which was of denominational significance, was inappropriate to a college of liberal arts. But after much discussion, a thorough canvass of alumni, and a failure to agree upon any other name, in 1891 the general conclusion was that the name must be accepted as a finality.

Wesleyan ranks among the strongest of the sectarian colleges, her grounds, buildings, endowment, etc., aggregating \$4,408,010 in 1924 and in 1925, \$4,700,000. In 1924-25 there are 595 students and 65 members of the faculty.

A recent survey of scientific accomplishment by the alumni shows Wesleyan ranking first among colleges

of its class, both in actual number of eminent scientists and in scientific eminence.

CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

Storrs Agricultural School was established in 1881. Augustus Storrs of Mansfield, Connecticut, gave 170 acres of land and several buildings. Charles Storrs gave a fund of \$6,000 for equipment and improvement, while additional funds were voted by the State Legislature.

Instruction began in the autumn of the same year, the school admitting students from the grammar grades and offering a course of two years. In 1891, 50 students were enrolled. The first principal was Solomon Mead, whose term lasted for two years, and the second was B. F. Koons, who continued in office till 1898, becoming president of the institution when it was made a college.

In 1893 the General Assembly changed the name of the institution to Storrs Agricultural College and gave it the proceeds of Connecticut's share of the funds which had been created for the establishment of Agricultural colleges by the Land Grant Act of 1864 and the Morrill Act of 1890. The college was officially opened to women and the department of domestic science was established. The course of study was lengthened to four years, at the end of which the degree of bachelor of agriculture was given, although students were still admitted from the grammar school. In 1898, George W. Flint was elected president, and he continued as head of the college for three years.

In 1899 the General Assembly again changed the name of the institution, calling it the Connecticut Agri-

cultural College. In 1901 the curriculum was reorganized. In addition to courses of two years, open to graduates of the common school, the college offered four-year courses, and for admission to these higher qualifications were demanded. The four-year course led to the degree of bachelor of science. Frequent changes continued to raise entrance requirements and improve the standard of instruction until in 1914 the college stopped admitting to collegiate work those who could not present a preparation of four years in secondary schools or its equivalent.

In 1902, after being acting president for one year, R. W. Stimson was elected president, his term of office lasting till 1908.

As organized at present, Connecticut Agricultural College consists of three divisions: (1) the instructional or college division; (2) Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station; and (3) extension service.

Collegiate instruction is organized in five divisions—Agriculture, Agricultural Science, Home Economics, Teacher Training, and Mechanical Engineering. Non-collegiate instruction comprises two-year courses in agriculture and various short courses. For the benefit of those who cannot spend four years in training, the college offers four ten-week courses, which together form the curriculum of the two-year course in Agriculture, the purpose being to train men for farming, or for positions as farm superintendents. Summer weeks are devoted to a series of educational conferences of two or three days, preceding Farmers' Week, which begins late in July.

Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station was established by Act of Congress early in March, 1887, and in

the same month it was accepted by a resolution of the Connecticut General Assembly. By order of the Trustees it is a department of the college. Its purpose is the furtherance by research and experiment of agricultural progress. With this end in view investigations are continuously being made and the results are published in bulletins which are available to the people of the State.

In 1914 the Extension Service was organized as the third branch of the college. Its establishment was made possible by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of Congress, which authorized the annual appropriation of \$480,000, and also the annual subvention of \$10,000 to each State, besides further appropriations for educational work in agriculture. The extension service maintains a staff of men and women who are specialists in various branches of agriculture and home economics and the services of whom are at all times available to the people of the State.

In 1908, Charles L. Beach was elected president and he still remains the efficient head of the college. In 1923-24 the faculty numbered in all departments of the college 129 and the students 452.

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

The college owes its foundation to the wish and purpose of the people of Connecticut to provide within the State adequate facilities for the higher education of women. The growth in numbers of women students in the United States had been so rapid in the decade beginning with 1900 that it caused congestion in some colleges, limitations of admission in others, and showed the need of new institutions. The demand for new kinds



TWO VIEWS OF CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, NEW LONDON

of training, which had resulted from the entrance of women into professional and technical occupations, had created new problems of instruction and called for equipment which existing institutions could not meet.

The first movement for establishing a new college in Connecticut was made by members of the College Club of Hartford, Connecticut, when in March, 1910, a committee was appointed by this club to direct public opinion and enlist public support. Within a few months, offers of sites and money for the new college began to reach the committee, and various towns were vying with each other for the site of the college. As an outcome of the contest in January, 1911, the committee of organization unanimously chose New London as the home of the new college,—after receiving offers of \$50,000 from the New London City Council, \$136,000 from 5000 New London citizens and 49 acres of land from Mrs. Harriet Allyn—which they provisionally called Thames College, and in the following April the General Assembly of the State granted the charter authorizing the foundation. A few months later the Legislature by resolution changed the name of the college to Connecticut College for Women.

Morton F. Plant made possible the realization of the new college by making a gift for an endowment of \$1,000,000, and another for buildings and dormitories of \$100,000 to be known as Plant and Blackstone House. In June, 1913, the trustees authorized the erection of an initial group of five buildings, adequate for the needs of the college, and set September, 1915, as the date for the formal opening:

Frederick H. Sykes was called from Columbia Uni-

versity to be the first president and served till the spring of 1917.

The college formally opened in September, 1915, with 12 members on the faculty and an enrollment of 120 students. The aim of the college from the outset was "to maintain with high standards, and to conduct with highest efficiency, a curriculum prepared to develop each woman's peculiar talents toward her most effective life work," and to accomplish this, it incorporated into its plan of instruction many branches of technical training, offering the two degrees of B. A. and B. S. Besides the regular academic and scientific studies, the curriculum includes music, fine arts, home economics, library science, secretarial studies, office practice, and physical education. Much opportunity is given for selecting courses that are personally desired, but there are required of all students certain courses in English, in a foreign language, in literature, science, in economics, and in physical education.

After the retirement of Dr. Sykes in 1917, Benjamin T. Marshall was called to the presidency, and still remains in office. During his term the college has grown to its present enrollment of 438 students, 49 faculty members, and an alumnae body numbering about 200.

SPORTS AND OUTDOOR LIFE

BY WALTER CAMP

Author. Born New Haven, Conn., April 7th, 1859. A. B. Yale, 1880. A. M.; married Miss Sumner, sister of William G. Sumner. Active in the management of Yale's athletics. Yale representative National College Athletic Association; secretary Football Rules Committee. President, treasurer and general manager New Haven Clock Company; director Peck Brothers Company. Treasurer and trustee Hopkins Grammar School. Clubs: University, Aero, Reform, Yale (New York), Country, Graduates', Pine Orchard (local). Author: *The Substitute*, *Jack Hall of Yale*, *Old Ryerson*, *Danny Fists*, *Captain Danny*, *Danny the Freshman*, *Bridge Don'ts*, *Auction Bridge Don'ts*, *Auction Bridge up to Date*, *Book of College Sports*, *American Football*, *Football Facts and Figures*, *Football, Yale*, *Her Campus*, *Class Room and Athletics*, *Drives and Puts* (with Lillian Brooks), 1899, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, *Athletes All*. Editor-in-chief *Library Young People*. Contributor to leading magazines and the "sporting column" in *Collier's Weekly*. Chairman athletic department. Navy Committee on Training Camp Activities; chairman War Service Committee Clock Manufacturers; chairman Foreign Relations Committee. International Sports Club. Died March 15, 1925.

TO reconstruct a picture of the life of the early days of the settlers in this country is a difficult undertaking, but it is peculiarly difficult to frame a picture of the play, games and sports of those early generations because the really authentic history of the times was confined so far as actual evidence that can be unearthed was concerned largely to the then far more important affairs of life—religious beliefs and observances, and the hard struggle of wresting a living from the rocky soil, and that under the most disadvantageous condition of constant harassment by Indians and the extreme rigors of the climate. Under these circumstances, very little of reliable evidence as to sports and games was transcribed to records that can be verified. Probably ninety per cent of the people still believe in what were called the “Connecticut Blue Laws” and their authenticity. Yet it has been brought forward by the most careful research antiquarians that many of these laws were not laws at all but merely parodies on the times and some of the most severe were hatched in the imagination of an English critic who perpetrated them as a joke.

The principal facts to be borne in mind and attested by all kinds of evidence was the extreme severity of the religious ideas of the people of those times, the austerity of their conduct and the immense emphasis placed upon religious observations and religious prejudices. Pages of their records are filled with the bitter quarrels regarding churches and the relative precedence of seating in those churches. There are also voluminous records of the discussions as to the placing of ministers, their salaries and perquisites. An Englishman of modern times once wrote: “It is a fearful responsibility to be young and none can bear it like their elders,” and if that is true in

modern times it was doubly and trebly true in the old days among the early settlers in this country. Their Sunday began on Saturday evening and from that time until Sunday evening there was a sternness of discipline and Sabbath observance barely understood today. But during the week, so far as actual reliable evidence was concerned, it is certain that there was no provision whatever made for the enjoyment of anything like what we would consider modern sport or games. But, as has been shown, by some of our most able historians, human nature in the raw has not altered materially in thousands of years. The boy and girl, like the young animal, must find play in some form and in spite of ironclad edicts of the elders, will break loose because that is human nature. And so it was in the early days. But in those days there were no organized athletics or games. Opportunities were seized, often surreptitiously, for the breaking out of youth, the evidence for this being the occasional appearance of some vote passed to restrain this turbulent spirit. After going over masses of evidence and correspondence with aged men whose memories ran back nearly one hundred years, and whose research took them back still further, the writer has determined that the best way to get a picture of youth and his environments in a play or sport sense would be to submit in a sketchy way the indisputable evidence of the signs of the times and from that permit the reader to construct his own picture of what fun there was in life for the young in the early days. Later, as we reach the point of more irrefragable evidence, the writer has traced rapidly the development of this spirit of youth in the form of the introduction of the games which we now recognize as athletic sports.

Albert Edward Wiggam, in his "New Decalogue of

Science" says: "The new psychology finds that man instead of being a creature easily satisfied with high wages is a restless being who naturally loves to hunt, wander, brawl, intrigue, drink, play, dance and sing, take risks and at the same time seek safety under a leader."

And thus behind the stern reality of wresting a living from the soil, we find these same natural human qualities typified in the early settlers of this country. They hunted the wild animal as well as the Indian, and were hunted and harried by them in return. They continually struck out in new wanderings, they brawled unceasingly regarding their ministers and churches, their individual importance and seatings in their meeting houses, they intrigued and they accused their neighbors of witchcraft. The item for strong drink at a funeral exceeded all the other costs of the obsequies. While forbidding dancing, they sought its equivalent as long as youth was in their veins and those who were not repressed by the sternness of the Elders, whose blood had run cold, nevertheless played and took risks at all possible times. Sunday was a stern religious day.

And their play, while practically unorganized, was always venturesome and daring as became such a hardy people. As the Elders were cruel to the Indian and the irreligious, so their children were hard and sometimes probably cruel to the animals and to the weaker of their own kind. Much of their play was of the "practical joke" character, and sometimes streaked through with diabolical mischief.

Naturally the early settlers of America coming from English stock must have carried with them a memory of the sports that were going on about them when they sailed, although they disapproved strongly of many of

them. This was true in early Virginia colonies. The British had always been a hard-fighting, hard-drinking, hard-riding nation. Archery, quarter staff and single stick were indulged in. There were terrier fights and cock fights, running and leaping. In fact we have evidence that in England at this time a popular wager was that of running a mile in four minutes with four starts; that is, to run a quarter mile and then rest, a second quarter and so on. Another popular attempt was to walk 100 miles without resting. The Royal Cork Yacht Club was founded in 1720. The bow was known before the Battle of Hastings but the first record of the long bow being used was in that battle in 1066. Bowls came in just after the Norman Conquest, and we have a record that in 1588 news of the Spanish Armada was brought to Sir Francis Drake when he and other officers of the fleet were playing bowls on the Hoe.

"Club" ball was known in the thirteenth century, but it developed into cricket and was so called after 1676. Paille Maille was played in France in the thirteenth century and had a revival in the middle of the eighteenth, when it became known as Croquet. Golf must have existed very early, for in 1457 it was claimed that it interfered with Archery. [La Crosse was indulged in by the Indians here before the white men came.] Polo, known as Chaugan, was played in Persia, Central Asia and Thibet as early as the fifteenth century. In Thibet it was called "Pulu," from which came the present name. But we may readily eliminate such sports as yachting, polo, croquet and all the expensive sports of the rich for none of these were in any way possible for our early settlers. There remain those of individual prowess like running and jumping.

Besides these there were such childish games as "Tag." But there were exceptional facilities for shooting and game trapping and fishing and these were also productive sports which aided our early settlers in securing food. For example, in 1732 the Fishing Company in the State of Schuylkill was organized on the Schuylkill River, and in 1763 the Fishing Company of Fort St. Davids was organized by Philadelphia descendants of Colonists from Wales.

Even as late as Lincoln's day we gather information as to the thoughts of a young boy in a pioneer life, especially as to his exploring qualities. His boyish prayer tells a story in itself: "God help father; God help mother; God help sister; help everybody. Teach me to read and write; watch over Honey and make him a good dog, and keep us all from getting lost in the wilderness, Amen."

But the serious-mindedness of the elders must always have had a strong repressive effect upon play or sport. Take, for instance, one of Connecticut's heroes—Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith who was born just up here in New Britain. When he was 16 years old, and an apprentice to a blacksmith, he had one-half year of schooling, and in order to make up for that half year he forged no less than 14 hours a day for the next six months. Later, he walked 120 miles to Boston to consult a library. When he was 26 years old, he was working daily at the forge and nightly at his books. His diary shows that on one day he did the following work:

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 65 lines Hebrew | 10 lines Bohemian |
| 30 pages French | 9 lines Polish |
| 10 pages Cuvier's Theory | 15 names of Stars |
| 8 lines Syriac | 10 hrs. forging |
| 10 lines Danish | |

I know of no more graphic way to portray the customs of the times and the effect that the general atmosphere would have upon the sports of youth than thus to describe the conditions that prevailed in the life of these early days.

First and most important, as already referred to, was the effect of religion and the religious disputes. For instance, beginning back in the early part of 1700 there was a violent discussion as to the singing in church. "April 7, 1724, it was proposed whether they should continue the present way of singing or would admit of regular singing." May 9th the same year it was voted to take a year's time to consider this. A later vote was that if any person shall presume to sing contrary to the lead of the quoirister he shall be dealt with as an offender. In 1726 they were still voting on this. Thirty years later, in 1757, they turned once more and adopted the singing of Dr. Watts' version of the psalms.

From early 1700 they were continually petitioning the General Assemblies to divide the church. In 1716 and 17, finding that "all former methods and acts taken and recorded in order to a regular seating in our meeting house have proved ineffectual and there was much discordance and disorder and it was voted to seat the inhabitants as follows:" And then each pue and seat was specified. But in 1721 it was voted and agreed that the meeting house should be seated on these rules, namely, each listed and "whatever makes a man honorable." A few months later they had to vote that the fore seats in the square body shall be equal in dignity with those seats called the fore pues.

In 1730 there began a quarrel relative to the placing of the new meeting house and from this later came a

succession of petitions and memorials between those living East and South of the center of New Britain and those in another portion of the parish. This continued for years and must have been the familiar discussion heard by all the youth of the time during this Kensington Society Division, which went repeatedly before the General Assembly in Hartford, had innumerable committees appointed, even were obliged to pass votes prohibiting and opposing any person pulling down or destroying any part of our meeting house, until finally in 1767 a committee of 137 men signed a petition saying "The Society has long been in a very unhappy, broken and divided state and various means have been unsuccessfully used to reconcile the subsisting difficulties." This same thing was going on in division of churches elsewhere. This then was the kind of topic of conversation listened to by the children in their homes, and one may have some idea of the size of these families in glancing over "Biographical Sketches of the Times." I take one, Samuel Hart, for the name Hart became identified with Berlin and New Britain. He died in early 1800. His children were Rebecca, Samuel, Charlotte, Asahel, Anna, Jesse, James, Mary, John, James, Theodore, Lydia, Betsey, Huldah, Nancy, Emma and Almira. One accounts for the second James by the fact that the first James died in infancy. Families of a dozen or more were by no means uncommon and hence the loneliness of "only child" was practically unknown. Nor did these children have any of the funny pages of the Sunday newspapers, for there were in those early days no newspapers, and later the only newspapers they received were those that were brought by courier from a larger town. Reading was confined to libraries at first starting in a small way and then developing into

institutes which provided books and also occasional lectures which the youth of today, accustomed to the movie and the radio would hardly appreciate. There was a school for every township, or "every township after the Lord have increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."

It should be remembered that the houses of those days had no plaster and the winter nights must have been freezing cold. And in the earlier times we find no measures for winter ablution. We find in inventories of those days some pewter bowls but no pitchers and bowls. We find also pigeon nets which shows that the youth trapped pigeons. And we find records of trout running up to three pounds which must have made good fishing.

The names of places are indicative also of the life:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Dogs Misery | Wolf Swamp |
| Cat Hole | Meeting House Hill |
| Cat Swamp | Misery Bar |
| Great Swamp | Deer Hill |
| Pilgrims Harbor Brook | Walnut Grove |
| Beaver Dam | Milking Yard |
| Buckwheat Hill | |

These names themselves must have made an imprint on the imagination of the boys and girls of those days.

The signs of the times are shown upon tombstones as well as in other evidence. What the children of that day and generation read on these must have had its effect upon the fertile imagination.

in ye 7th
yer of his Age
These four things
Remember well

death & Judgment
heaven & hell
in ye 26th
yer of his Age
as you are now
so once was I
Prepare for death
for you must die
Loving Friends behold
My Body turned to dust
O now prepare for death
For follow me you must
aged 16 years
Happy ye dying youth
Whose early steps have
Trode ye Christian road of
Pious virtue up to God

There was another phase of interest in connection with the life of youth in those days and that was the whaling industry and the development of that just at the beginning of the Revolutionary War into privateering and general piracy between sections. There are most interesting tales of the dangerous spirit of those days in the records, and it must have been a kind of life that appealed strongly to the sporting sense of youth in those days.

In no way can one gather a better idea of the repression placed upon youth than through the conduct of the Elders in those old days. A great deal of the time that was not spent in the hardest kind of work was taken up in the arguments and quarrels over ministers and churches.¹

And after the votes regarding seating in churches we find a vote regarding the conduct of the youth. In 1724, voted and agreed that Thomas Hart and Samuel Bronson,

¹As illustrated by the Farmington and Kensington disputes.

Jr., be appointed to "oversee the boys on ye Sabbath in time of exercise, to restrain them from irreverent behaviours therein for the year ensuing."

In one case they appointed a Committee of a dozen men to prevent the other faction from pulling down, destroying or carrying away any part of the meeting house, or adding any boards, shingles, glass, window frames without due order of the Society. Finally in an appeal to the General Assembly, they admitted the following: "The Society has long been in a very unhappy, broken and divided state and various means have been unsuccessfully used to reconcile subsitting difficulties."

One can easily imagine under these conditions the examples set to youth and their fear of these stern fighters and the lack of respect which must have underlain these fears. No wonder they had no organized sport or games. They boiled over into mischief. They stole their opportunities for fun. But they did have a grand outdoor life in certain seasons. They learned the lessons of nature. They fished and hunted and trapped. They rode horseback—not perhaps from enjoyment but as a stern necessity. They early learned to handle a rifle.

In those pioneer days, dancing, card playing and play acting were forbidden, but youth had such sport and such fling as it could secure at house-raising, corn huskings, quilting parties, sheep shearings, maple-sugar makings, picnics and sleigh rides. The great outdoor opportunities were at training days or general musters, election days, Thanksgiving Days and Commencement Days. As for individual sport, it came largely from hunting, fishing and trapping, for in many of the papers signed with the Indians it was specified that "nothing would be done to hinder the Indians in theyre hunting."

Everyone travelled afoot or on horseback through blazed trails. Post riders were directed "to mark some trees that shall direct passengers the best way." The fear of the lurking savage or wild beast was ever present, and man and boy were ever ready to grip the trusted rifle. Nor were these alarms without cause. In 1703, the French and Indians carried off David Hoyt and his wife and four children to Canada. One child was killed on the road. Hoyt died of starvation near Wells River, New Hampshire. Mrs. Hoyt was finally brought back in 1708. One may gather an added picture of the trials of youth from the account that in 1697 Joseph and Winthrop Benham, and even their daughter Winifred, age 13, were summoned for witchcraft. "Winifred, 13, is now believed to ride tandem on the broomstick with her mother in nightly peregrinations with the devil."

But from those early Colonial days came a turning towards more sport, more enjoyment of life, a relaxation from the rigidity of those early days. We find in 1778 that the Faculty of Princeton College was obliged to forbid a "game played on the rear campus, with bat and ball by the students." We find other restrictive legislation and comment which shows the trend of the times. Although it is not verified, it is said that Oliver Wendell Holmes told a reporter that baseball was played at Harvard as early as 1829. But anything like organized baseball did not come in until the Fifties. Perhaps it would then have grown even without the Civil War, but at any rate as soon as that war was over baseball came in with a flood, and the National Game of America was established.

The first indications of football came in the kicking about indiscriminately of an inflated pig's bladder, a sport

that was indulged in after big Thanksgiving dinners. So far as general development of football with any rules was concerned, there is little trace of it until one comes to 1850 when freshmen and sophomores at colleges used to play a sort of a game in which all members of both classes indulged. It was, however, more like a rush with a ball as the excuse than anything else. In the early Seventies, however, a mongrel game developed in the United States which partook of some of the elements of English Soccer. A man could not run with the ball, nor throw it, but he could bat it forward with his hand.

Previous to anything like organized athletics at the colleges that is up to the early Fifties there was the strong, robust spirit and it found its outlet in many deeds of mischief—town and gown riots, gate stealings and escapades of that kind. One can trace the beginning of a different day to the time when in 1843, Weks, a Yale Junior, bought from De la Montagnie & Son in New York a boat 19 ft. long, 6 years old, with four 12-foot oars for the sum of \$29.50. This boat was used by a club of nine men for a little over a year and then sold for \$12.00. The total expenses of this year of boating was \$62.35. In 1844, Yale bought a real racing boat built by Thatcher—a 6-oared boat, 38 feet long, which cost, when new, \$300, but which Yale purchased for \$170. In 1852, on the 3d of August, Yale rowed Harvard on Lake Winnepesaukee, a regatta financed largely by the railroads, a two-mile straightaway race in 8-oared barges, with coxswains, which Harvard won by 5 seconds.

Baseball came in just after the war, and Yale's first recorded game was with Wesleyan, September 30, 1865, which Yale won 39 to 13. The first Yale-Princeton game was June 25, 1868, which Yale won 30 to 23, and the first

Yale-Harvard game at Worcester July 25, which Harvard won 25 to 17. The first field games of the Yale Track Association were held in New Haven in 1872, and by 1874, when they were held at Saratoga in conjunction with the boat races there, they had taken on considerable interest.

For several years, however, it was difficult to secure entries.

The first real Intercollegiate meet of the colleges was won by Princeton in 1876. Dual League Track Meets began in 1891, and International Track contests began with the visit of Yale to Oxford July 16, 1894.

Football was a sport of a certain kind at the colleges away back in 1850, but it was simply an organized rush without rules. In the Sixties, it had very nearly disappeared but it was revived in the early Seventies. The game that was then played was somewhat similar to Soccer. Soon after Harvard went up to Canada and played Rugby Football with the Canadian Universities and this was the start of our American Collegiate game.

In '75, Harvard and Yale tried to compromise the two sets of rules but the game was a farce. In the fall of 1876 Harvard and Yale adopted the Rugby Union Football Rules exactly as they stood at that time in England, and the game was played November 18th in New Haven. Since then that game has developed into the greatest of our collegiate contests.

The first Intercollegiate Tennis tournament was held at Harvard June 7th to 9th of 1883.

Golf came later, in the early Nineties.

And now we are in the midst of the greatest sport era the world has ever known and the United States is well-nigh preëminent in that era. What would those pioneers

of the early days say to bowls and stadiums built at the cost of millions of dollars, seating a hundred thousand? And these structures erected solely for seating the spectators of modern day sport.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

BY MRS. SIDNEY K. MITCHELL, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

“THE SOBER, BUSY CITIZENS OF CONNECTICUT”

I

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the words, “Connecticut Yankee,” were a fairly distinctive description—not a mere geographical term. With no Fourth of July to mark its coming, there has been since then a social revolution in the State. Instead of a region thinly sprinkled with white hillside farming villages, practically self supporting and slowly being connected by turn-pike roads and stage coaches, the valleys are now filled with manufacturing towns and cities, dependent on one another and closely united by railroads, trolleys and telephones. The homogeneous population in which an Irishman or anything but an American of English blood, or an occasional Indian or “black” was a curiosity, has been transformed into one in which the person of Colonial ancestry is in his turn exceptional. Connecticut was quite free from great distinctions between rich and poor. Beggars were counted among the rarities, and in the opinion of contemporaries, there was greater equality in the condition of the people here than in any other part of United States. No broken or knotted threads show where this simple age of homespun and the Three Rs changed to one of “Greek and Latin, silk and satin”—with a cosmopolitan population living under conditions that would be incomprehensible to its predecessors of a century and a quarter ago.

The process is similar everywhere, yet “Connecticutensis,” as he called himself in the pseudo-classical fashion of the early nineteenth century, was a definite type, with a Benjamin Franklin-like mind which manifested its activity in many ways besides that of mechanical ingenuity.

The long list of things invented and started in Connecticut contains more than her tin peddlers' loads of Yankee notions, just as the career of her son, Bronson Alcott, begun in peddling trips to the South, was marked by notable contributions in intellectual fields.

The Revolution had freed America from king and titled aristocracy, but here the "Standing Order" was in power, and Federalism was a steady habit. According to their temperament and social position, people either regarded themselves as proving to a doubting world that Democracy and a Republic would not generate license and vulgarity, but were gloriously possible—or they feared and bewailed the dangerous and uncouth antics of the "democratic rabble." These principles are so taken for granted today that it is hard to realize the feeling of political intrepidity and exultation in carrying out what was thought to be a bold experiment, where even the lowest had a conscious part. They believed that there was not another state in the world where the individual was of so much importance, and they enjoyed observing "intelligent foreigners . . . astonished and perplexed at this strange contradiction"—that such a society was not unstable. Their satisfaction in this is well shown by a conversation overheard one Election Day and reported with great pride by President Dwight of Yale. The speakers were the Governor and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the conversation was correspondingly stately. "Pray, sir, where are your rabble?" "You see them around you, sir," said the Governor. "Rabble," said the Judge, "I see none but Gentlemen and Ladies." "We have no other rabble," said the Governor, "but such as you see." "You astonish me," replied he . . . These your only rabble, Sir? Well, I will

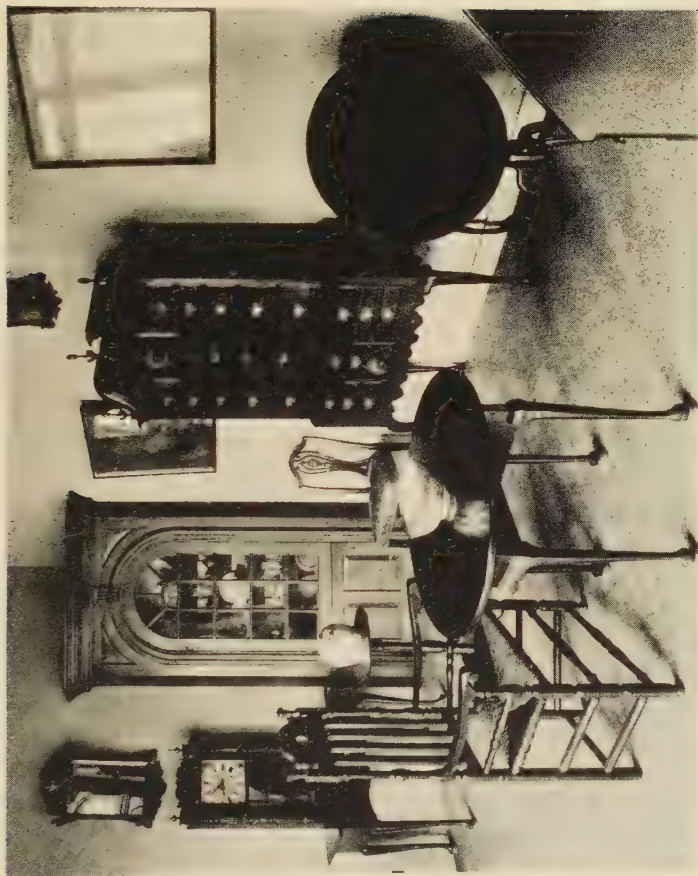
say, that the inhabitants of Connecticut are the only people within my knowledge, who understand the nature of an Elective Government."

By this time Connecticut leaders considered that the experiment would succeed. Their youthfully self-conscious and self-confident republicanism was ready to act the part of Liberty enlightening the world, but they were determined that Toleration,—“the syren tongue of charity,”—and “the turbulent spirit of reform” should not be allowed in their State to give power to the radical and the infidel—in their minds synonymous terms. As “Simon Holdfast” and “Jonathan Steadfast” they wrote pamphlets, vindicating steady habits and warning their readers to count the cost of any change in the established order of affairs. “Demons, Demagogues, Democrats, and Devils” was a copy set his pupils by one thorough-going Federalist school-master.

Material conditions were still nearer the primitive than our machinery-wise minds can quite picture. In the north-western part of the State was an extensive region known as the “Great Green Woods” because of the evergreen forests. It was only sixty years since Torrington had been fortified as a frontier settlement; when Rev. Ammi Robbins came to Norfolk in 1761, “the spot was so wild—the old forest standing closely about the church—that on entering the village the building could not be seen;” and it is said that Rev. Abel McCuen, who went to New London in 1806, was for some time the only settled Congregational minister on a territory twelve miles by fifty. Even as late as Miss Martineau’s visit in the Thirties, she spoke of the “everlasting forest, from which in America we cannot fly . . . throughout New England it bounded every landscape.”

The wilderness, however, was becoming subdued, the Indians were objects of charity rather than of dread, and the "ropes of sand" that failed to bind together a disorganized society after the break with England had been strengthened. There was therefore a chance for some dressing up of life, for a little play for its own sake, for something in education beyond the bare necessities of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in morals for more thought than for making one's own calling and election sure, by enforced attendance at the meetinghouse on Sundays.

Certain characteristics of the Connecticut Yankee have received much emphasis. The Southern idea was that he drove a sharp bargain, taught school, rolled his Rs and talked through his nose. These caricatures contained an element of truth. Rigid and often unlovely economy was necessary in this land of rocks and stones and little hollows among the hills. Ways of getting and spending money were small, "thread by thread, grain by grain," necessitating what Emily Dickinson has called the "oblique integrity" of the New England farmer. Living, for most people, had to be plain, and thinking, with its religious cast, though high, was doubtless narrow. But there was also hearty enjoyment of this world, for the truth seems to be that many of these early Republicans were rather uproarious people. Our own Revolution, the infidelity following the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the greater facilities for travel and education, immigration—these were forces which, throughout the nineteenth century, were bringing in freer customs and ideas that changed the outlook on life. What writer of a political pamphlet today would think of signing himself, "Barnabas Homespun," as in 1817?



A Group of Connecticut Furniture in the Collection of George Dudley Seymour, now deposited in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Corner Cupboard from the Captain Charles Churchill House, Newington, built 1762.

"Connecticut," said Peter Parley in his Geography, "is a pleasant and thriving state. It has a great many excellent schools, and the people are among the most intelligent and industrious in the whole country."

II

The typical Connecticut Yankee of the early nineteenth century, Goodman John Elderkin as Ik Marvel called him, was a plain farmer, or at least a land owner doing some small manufacturing. He was a Congregationalist — as one of the church certificates put it: "Being an inhabitant of Brookfield, State of Connecticut, where every man is considered as born a Congregationalist, who does not certify to the contrary." It was frequently true, as was said of a certain man in Guilford, that his great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grand-father, great-uncle, brother, first cousin, and son wore the white starched caps of deacons, and sat in the deacons' seat in the same church. It was also probable that the minister in the eagle-nest pulpit, to whom he listened on Sundays, had an equal array of clerical forbears and relatives. "My father," said a minister in 1800, "preached in the forenoon, and I in the afternoon, in the same desk in which my grandfather preached near forty years," and he might have added that two or three of his brothers were in the same profession. John Elderkin had been converted from a state of native human depravity during a revival, and sat more or less contentedly, if not comfortably, in the seat which had been assigned him, according to his age and property, in the bare and unwarmed meetinghouse. If he had recovered from debt and the Puritan objection to paint, he lived in a white wooden house, probably with a lean-to, one of a row of similar homes scattered along the

road towards the common. Here the community was presided over by the meetinghouse — which must also serve as the place for public meetings, even those on Training Days if the weather was bad, the whole forming, in the words of President Dwight, “a decent but thinly built village.”

There were a few professional men — doctors, lawyers, ministers; — a few brick houses in the larger towns; and a few Episcopalians, somewhat under the retreating cloud of Toryism. It is curious that the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States was Samuel Seabury of Connecticut and that the first clergyman to be ordained by him was the Rev. Asahel Baldwin of Middletown. Religious uniformity in this, the final home of the Established Order, was further disturbed by the presence of Methodists and Baptists, whose numbers were increasing to the distress and dismay of the authorities.

Certain trades and primitive manufactures were necessary to each community, and the meeting house shared the honors of the somewhat sketchy green, or the broad, public highway, which in some places formed a green, with various local combinations of saw-mill, fulling-mill, grist-mill, tannery, tinsmith's and blacksmith's shop. The same Brookfield, had for example, in 1810, with a population of 1,037, the following rather complete equipment as a community: a company of militia, two grain-mills, a fulling-mill, four taverns, a social library, one physician, two clergymen, two attorneys, several quarries.

All these occupations shaded into that of farming. Ministers, doctors, lawyers, owned farms, about whose management they were extremely intelligent, and on which it was not beneath the dignity of anyone to work. Pastor William Robinson of Southington, finding his

salary inadequate, turned to agriculture with such success that in ten years he had a farm of 150 acres, 46 hives of bees, 100 cows, and 6 or 8 yoke of oxen. He also bought corn, had it kiln dried, ground and sent where it would bring a high price. Apparently some of his people disapproved of his activities, for one Sunday morning he found a bag of meal in his pulpit. Dr. Samuel Nott's financial achievements were rather bitterly recounted to him by a parishioner: "When you first came into the society, we have reason to believe you had not much property, but since you came you have purchased a good farm, built and furnished a large house, more elegant than any other house in the society. You have horses and carriages for the easy conveyance of yourself and family and are able to extend liberal advantages to your children."

The man who thrived in the humbler occupations, such as tailor or tinner, also had as his goal the ownership of land. In the grandiloquent language of "Pope" Dwight, "Every farmer in Connecticut . . . is . . . dependent for his enjoyment on none but himself, his Government, and his God; and is the little monarch of a dominion sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence."

In these little dominions, however, the conditions of life were so hard that the farmer-monarch was usually obliged to be a manufacturer also, that he might have something to sell to supplement the insufficient returns from his land. Peter Parley's recollections of his native Ridgefield probably describe conditions that were characteristic of many communities — most farmers in debt, and much land mortgaged. It was said that "whenever Colonel Matthew Talcott went from Middletown to Hartford, as he crossed the Little Bridge he made all Hartford tremble, because he held so many mortgages there." In

spare time, consequently, besides mending and perhaps making his own tools, Goodman John Elderkin tried to manufacture small articles—nails, buttons, combs,—anything that could be fashioned out of tin, wood or iron, with the crude implements of the time. An energetic blacksmith, besides shoeing the oxen and horses, made hoes, scythes, pitch forks, “peels” or shovels, and traps for catching wild animals. Sometimes from scarcity of circulating coin, and from lack of any capital but his hands and tools, the worker made articles from material furnished by the customer,—shoes from leather taken to a neighbor who had learned the trade of shoemaker to occupy his idle time. Some of these men could “box the craft,” that is, take the green hide through all the stages of making a pair of shoes. The Ridgefield hatter made hats to order, and in exchange for skins of foxes, rabbits, and the like. Litchfield cabinet makers and joiners made Windsor, fiddle-back and heart-back cherry chairs, and swelled and straight side-boards, taking in payment “all kinds of stuff fit for Cabinet or Shop work,” such as Basswood plank proper for chair seats.”

These industries were such infants that they were carried on in unused rooms in the houses, or in little buildings called “shops,” that, with the horse barns and corn cribs, formed the group essential to every well equipped farm-yard. At first made in very small quantities, or to fill actual orders from the neighbors, these articles were later peddled around in baskets, saddle bags, or two-wheeled carts. If the goods were taken to the New York or Boston markets, the saddle bags on the return trip were filled with raw materials. Sometimes a thrifty postman carried them about. Out of this was developed, in spite of prejudices, that picturesque and often questionable

character — the Yankee tin peddler, with his pack or "Pedlar Wagon" filled with tinware, pins, needles, scissors, combs, childrens' books, and cotton stuffs. The heyday of these peddlers was from about 1810 to 1840; sometimes, as many as thirty or forty from a single town made trips through the West and South, either with miscellaneous collections of wares, or carrying only special articles, staying for a long period and receiving supplies through an agent. Many of them, it is to be feared, added nothing to the good reputation of their native state. "How do you think we look?" wrote Bronson Alcott to his father from the South. "Like two, awkward, poor, unpolished, dissipated, homespun, begging, tugging, Yankee peddlers, think you?" Others derived much benefit from these experiences with different people and environments, bringing back new, broader — and sometimes freer — ideas.

A few seasons spent in making these trips gave ambitious young men the start which they needed, both in experience and money. Eli Terry, with a few clocks fastened to his saddle bags, dials outward, might well be as familiar and honored a figure as Benjamin Franklin and his loaves of bread. Scores of men locally prominent and prosperous earned their first money in this humble manner. The following experience of a man in Wallingford and Meriden shows one of these commonplace, but thrifty and comfortable careers. In 1801, at the age of fifteen, he began to peddle tinware. About three years later he was persuaded by his offended relatives to become an apprentice to a carpenter and joiner, a trade considered next to a profession in respectability. He soon returned to his peddler's wagon, but, when he was twenty, apprenticed himself to a tinsmith for six months, paying for his in-

struction. He learned the trade much sooner than was usual, and in a year began to manufacture tinware himself, one of the first in the country to make japanned and ornamented tinware extensively. In a few years he was prosperous enough to buy a farm, and when he was a little over fifty, retired from business and devoted himself to its enjoyment. He was elected to many public offices — justice of the peace, selectman, member of the State Legislature — and attained to the title of “Squire.”

So simply did these manufacturers begin that often they were almost completely ignorant of business forms. Yet this small, crude and haphazard but diversified manufacturing by muscle, rule of thumb, and ingenuity was giving the people a real technical education, preparing them for greater things with the coming of steam power and machinery. One or two illustrations of these small and ingenious beginnings must suffice. Before 1790 Gideon Roberts began to manufacture hand made clocks in Bristol, peddling them around on horse back. By 1812 he had a regular market especially in the South, and by 1836 the factories of Bristol were making nearly 100,000 brass and wooden clocks a year. In 1818 Benjamin Gilbert, a tanner and currier, thought that the long hair of cattle and horses might be used in making sieves for flour and meal. He constructed a loom on which his wife wove the hair into cloth, which was then fastened to a home-made hoop. Later, cloth was made from fine wire, woven at first on a neighbor's carpet loom. This almost ridiculous beginning grew into the business that made the fortune which enabled a son of the inventor to give Life's Fresh Air Farm, and a model farm with \$60,000.00 to Storrs's Agricultural College as an experiment station.

Many of the old mills had as variegated careers as the

men who were thus feeling their way to prosperity. One in Seymour, for instance, after grinding was discontinued, was used to make plow handles and beams. The handles were steamed and bent and sold in New York city. The building was used for this purpose until 1832, when it was turned into a clock factory. After this, wooden heads for white-wash brushes were made there until 1837, —its last work.

The history of any one of these industries, such as the manufacture of Britannia ware, started in Meriden in 1808, is interesting also from the changes in articles and materials from time to time, due to fashion as well as to discoveries and inventions. About 1850-60 dinner castors, sewing birds, and fluid lamps were being made; at the same time newspapers were advertising, "Burning Fluid and Camphene," and "Winter Whale Oil."

The story of the development of these Yankee notions into the great and complicated industries of modern Connecticut is a stirring one. Their marvellous expansion makes the nineteenth century another spacious age, a new era of discovery and romance, that of utility and business. The older spirit of adventure still had its heroes. The captain and the sailing master of the first steam vessel to cross the Atlantic, (1819), were both natives of New London; while a Mystic captain, who began going to sea when he was thirteen, was making his eightieth trip around Cape Horn in 1899.

These all-round handy men had fit mates in their "consorts," who were equally skillful at spinning, weaving, making cheese and butter, soap and candles. Legends had already grown up in different localities of their prowess, like stories of the flood and the sun myths. Besides furnishing household supplies, not to mention caring for the

numerous children, the women helped in the outside manufactures. When the first large lot of 4,000 Terry clocks was made about 1810, the cords were spun by the women of Wolcott from home raised flax. As factories were built, they not only furnished employment for the men during the off season on the farm, a much more profitable occupation than spending this time at the stores and taverns as many had done before, but they also enabled girls and women, even wives of professional men, to take work home to finish or to go into the factories. The New England Card Company, in Hartford, had at one time 900 women and children working at home during odd hours. Thus unwittingly was started the great problem of "Woman and the Home." For them, it was a relief from drudgery and poverty, the opening of the door of opportunity. After the inch, however, came the ell. About 1840, for example, a young woman took a position in a store in Meriden, being excused for this boldness because she was young and had money invested in the stock. Of those who followed her, eight married clergymen, while others became wives of men who acquired wealth and influence, results decidedly confusing to home keeping theories.

Manufactures developed rapidly with the introduction of steam and the improvement of machinery, and by the time of the Civil War, the population of the State was about equally divided between agriculture and manufacturing. This meant a shifting of population, as boys and girls left the farms to work in the factories. Later, too, the character of the inhabitants changed, when foreigners came in to meet the growing demands for workers. As these immigrants "apprenticed themselves to American

life," their stories are as full of the romance of the industrial age as those of the native workers.

The older predominantly agricultural villages were completely out-distanced by the rapid growth of the manufacturing towns. Barber said of Waterbury that, for thirty years before manufacturing was introduced, the population had decreased, since it was not adapted to farming, but that within twelve years after factories were established, its numbers had doubled. It then contained 1,500 people, between six and seven hundred of both sexes working in the factories. Willimantic, Collinsville, Enfield were other examples of new towns of rapid growth.

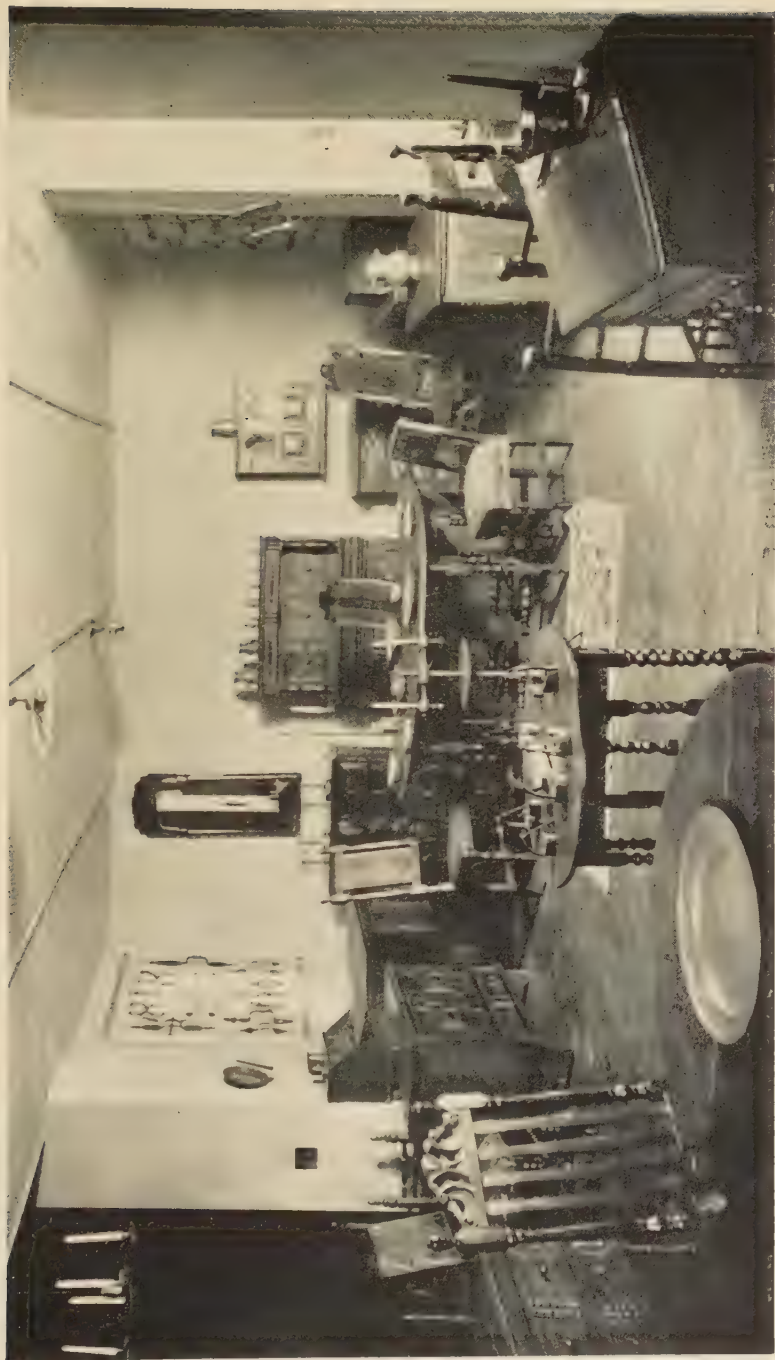
The building of railroads, begun between 1830 and 1840, increased this movement of population, especially as they were kept away from many places by the opposition of farmers, tavern keepers, and owners of canal, steamboat and turnpike stock. Some very foolish reasons for opposition were given,—the cars would frighten the sheep and the smoke blacken their wool. Others sound extremely modern. Certain lawyers, all of whom owned considerable turnpike stock, presented a remonstrance to the General Assembly against the incorporation of a particular railroad, because "it was a monopoly projected by the citizens of another state." These railroads dealt a second blow to old leaders like Litchfield, which for forty years, during the era of turnpikes and stage coaches, had been a center for travel between Boston, Hartford, and New York in one direction, and between New Haven and Albany in another. With no development of manufacturing, such places lost their former importance and were no longer stirred by the bustle of great four-horse stage coaches dashing up with horns blowing and whips crackling before the doors of flourishing taverns.

So soon as 1835, that is, even before the era of railroad building, the villages described by Barber as agricultural show at best a stationary population, and usually a decrease. Some of this decline was due to emigration to New Connecticut, and later to California, but in general the population, which had gravitated towards the church on the green as a center, was to follow the factory and the railroad, as trade follows the flag. Statistics of these losses as shown by the figures for 1810 and 1830, are as striking as those of the gains made by the manufacturing towns: Franklin, 1,161-1,194; Lisbon "farmers," 1,158-1,161; Salem, "substantial farmers, no village"; Trumbull "farmers," 1,241-1,242; Bethlehem, 1,118-906; Harwinton, 1,718-1,516; Warren, 1,096-986.¹

This redistribution of population affected the professions also. In the early days the best pastorates were not in the cities. In New London County in 1835, Lebanon and Griswold in the country were considered better parishes than those in New London and Norwich. Ministers also were content to stay in the same places for long periods. In 1815 there were at least twenty-nine pastors preaching in country parishes in Connecticut whose ministries were to last from thirty to sixty years, and in one case for more than seventy years.

The stores in these communities had very comprehensive stock. The one in Danbury in which P. T. Barnum was employed is described by him as carrying on a "cash, credit and barter business . . . women . . . brought butter, eggs, cheese, beeswax and feathers to exchange for dry goods and . . . men traded oats, corn, buckwheat and axe helves, hats and other commodities for tenpenny nails, molasses or New England rum." Many carried on

¹Barber, Conn. Hist. Collections, 2nd ed. p. 84, 257, 445, 446-7.



ROOM IN THE MORGAN-NUTTING COLLECTION OF EARLY AMERICAN FURNITURE, MORGAN MEMORIAL, HARTFORD, CONN.

an extensive trade, between the farmer and the city markets. Litchfield merchants forwarded their products to Hartford, Hudson and New York, among them the cheese for which Goshen was famous. Towns in the southern part of the State found markets at Derby and New Haven, those in the eastern part at Hartford. Norwalk received goods from the northern part of the county and sent them to New York: Mystic and Southport also received produce and shipped it to New York and Southern ports. Many of these merchants became wealthy, and the thrifty farmer, also, on settling his annual balance at the store often had a tidy sum due him.

III

Everyone had to work hard, partly because of the effects of the war, and partly because the country was still new, and many things had to be done and made. "It is an absorbing thing," said Miss Martineau, "to watch the process of world making." Labor was scarce, so on the bigger tasks people combined, turning them into frolics, or bees, indoors and out. The fun at these bees was boisterous, if not worse, and work ended with kissing games, dancing, wrestling, hopping, foot racing. The kissing games were by no means restricted to the "rabble." A young law student wrote of Litchfield: "Walter S. Franklin, Esq., says there was kissing done at Charlotte Landon's wedding . . . Miss Mary Ann thought she was near being swallowed at the kissing bout which was held in Litchfield. . . . They say Helen was all but kissed to death at the Landon's." James Morris said: The young people of South Farms were "clownish, ignorant and uncivil in their recreations and amusements. They consisted chiefly of noisy and jovial mirth."

There were also balls, frequently noisy and lasting all night, to the great disturbance of less frivolous persons. Conditions in one or two places were so bad that the minister asked to be dismissed, a request opposed on the very reasonable ground that "ministers ought not to leave their people because they were wicked." Many occasions were used as excuses for balls—Training and Election Days, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, the celebration of the conclusion of peace with England in 1815, even the ordination of the minister, the last giving a precedent useful to those interested today in holding dances in parish houses. An ordination was a great occasion, preceded by a day of fasting and prayer, accompanied by a dinner with generous supplies of liquor, and sometimes followed by a ball in the evening. Perhaps the parson might object, and reprimand the "revellers" in his next sermon, but many of the congregation had attended, for there was felt to be a peculiar elegance in an Ordination Ball. Invitations to four balls which have been preserved are interesting for the hours at which they were to begin: An Election ball (in Hartford) in 1811 at seven P. M.; a Columbian ball, May 4th (in Bristol) in 1813 at ten P. M.; a Peace ball in March at three P. M.; and an Anniversary ball, July 4th, at five P. M., (in Haddam) in 1815. The names of the dances and music sound as interesting to us as fox-trots, bunny-hugs and tangoes will to our successors. Some of them were: The Virginia Reel, Money Musk, Felicity, Yankee Doodle, The White Cockade, The Rolling Hornpipe, Miss Foster's Delight, Petty-coatee, The Ladies Choice, Stony Point, and Leather the Strap.

As amusement for its own sake became more universal and less apologetic, balls were given for no other reason

than themselves. Dancing was common and regarded with only mild opposition by the clergy. There were ball rooms in many private houses, as well as in taverns, usually on the second floor, a long room with an arched ceiling, a spring floor, a low platform at one end, and benches around the walls; some in the public houses had inmovable partitions so that they could be used as bedrooms if necessary. Dancing schools were numerous and sometimes even attended by children of ministers and deacons. Some dancing schools had a weekly cotillion, others a ball at the end of the term. The music on these occasions was furnished by a violin or fiddle, or by whistling and singing, some people apparently thinking it permissible to dance if there was no instrumental music—perhaps on the same principle that underlay objections to organs in the meetinghouses. Many of these “balls” were simpler affairs than the name would indicate to us. Those given at Miss Pierce’s school for girls in Litchfield every month were really small dances in the school room, which had been built with a movable partition for this purpose. One girl tells of a morning spent in cleaning the room in which a ball was to be held, and in going to the lot after bushes to decorate it. Indeed young people seem to have danced as inevitably as in these days of rolled-up rugs and victrolas, for there are letters telling of forenoons and afternoons spent in this fashion. It is pleasant to read of the informal parties of young people who used to meet at the home of Governor Huntington in Norwich, and after playing games in the parlor, danced in the kitchen for an hour or two.

Mrs. Sigourney also described sleighing parties to a neighboring tavern, with dancing and singing, though it is difficult to form a mental picture of that lady, even in

her youth, participating in "some strange figures called hornpipes." A hotel at Rocky Hill near Hartford, famous for its cooking for a century, was patronized by such parties. Similar affairs were described in Litchfield, among the girls of Miss Pierce's school and the young men studying law with "Old Reeve," as they sometimes called their teacher. On these occasions after eating turkey, oysters, pickles, cake—they "set Black Caesar to play jigs." Some of the songs were "Mary's Fears," "Blue Eyed Mary," "Love's Young Dream," "There's Nothing True But Heaven," "The Frozen Widow's Kiss," and "The Battle of the Nile." These parties formed an important part of the income of taverns that were situated off the main highways, or in sparsely settled portions of the town.

Noah Webster had in vain warned young ladies not to be too eager to learn music, drawing, and dancing, for "no man ever marries a woman for her performance on a harpsichord, or her figure in a minuet," but about 1815 there began to be a change of sentiment in respect to dancing. From being part of a child's education, together with learning how to enter and leave a room properly, and "make his manners" to strangers, dancing began to be frowned upon. In some places this change was due to revivals. The Era of Culture, also, was at hand, and people met to debate such questions as, Was Julius Caesar a greater man than Napoleon? Is matrimony more conducive to happiness than celibacy? or Are the abilities of the sexes equal? The last might well be a subject for debate in a society that thought the study of geography unsuitable for young ladies.

About this time other outlets for people's energies were supplied by the beginning of works of practical benevo-

lence, while interest in foreign missions was stimulated by the formation of the American Board. Samuel J. Mills, the "Father of Foreign Missions" in America, was born in Torrington; Connecticut people were so greatly interested in this society that its first meeting was held in Farmington in 1810; its first president was Governor Treadwell; one of the first members of the Board was Jedediah Huntington; its first organized auxiliary was the Litchfield County Foreign Missionary Society (1811); the Connecticut Missionary Society, the first state society, and the first missionary school for foreign missions in this country, if not in the world, was started in Cornwall. It is surprising to learn in this connection, that, as early as 1809, drives for European relief had begun. A Swiss was asking contributions for the people of a town which had been destroyed by an earthquake, and in ten months had collected \$11,000.00. The Choral Society of Hartford gave a concert in 1828 for the benefit of the suffering Greeks, at which it raised \$153.54, and had given one two years earlier for the Orphan Asylum. When Peter Parley revisited his old home in 1855, his feelings were mixed at finding the pulpit occupied in the afternoon by a young Jew, who was collecting money for his education.

These things, and the sailing of the first foreign missionary ship, called attention in a new way to needs at home. When this impulse was once aroused—and philanthropy is almost entirely a product of the nineteenth century—objects for activity were found in every direction—temperance, the care of orphans, and of the poor, the insane, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the feeble minded. The first care of the deaf and dumb in America will always be associated with the name of a little girl in

Hartford who became thus afflicted after an illness, and whose father wished to establish a school which she might attend. The school was opened in 1817. Similarly prominent in the care of the insane was a Connecticut man, born in New Haven, Dr. Todd—also a pioneer in this line—whose efforts resulted in the opening of a Retreat, a private institution in the same city in 1824. For some years insane persons who could not pay their way, were sent to the Retreat by the State, but a public institution was found necessary, and a hospital was built in Middletown in the Sixties.

Sunday schools were organized throughout the State, especially during the years 1817-1825, spreading as the Christian Endeavor movement did later. By 1858 there were about six hundred Sunday schools in the State, with over 65,000 pupils, and over 9,000 teachers. At first these schools were held only during the spring and summer, closing in October—eight Sundays being the term the first year in Bristol. There were of course no "Lesson Helps," and indeed no particular course of study. The lessons consisted in committing to memory Bible verses, hymns, and answers in the Shorter Catechism. An astonishing amount was learned—the following being the official record of a year's accomplishment in one Sunday School: "22,192 verses of Scripture, 2,335 answers to Catechism, 6,572 verses of hymns, making a total of 31,099, and this exclusive of adult classes." One child could repeat the whole book of Isaiah, and a boy in the Ellsworth Sunday School recited at one time twelve chapters of the gospel of Luke. Tract distributing societies also were formed, as well as the somewhat short lived moral societies.

The pulpit itself was touched by this spirit. More

charitable feelings between the different religious denominations were entertained, starting from the Disestablishment of the Congregational Church by the Constitution of 1818. Much to their surprise, this dreaded act showed ministers that Congregationalism could let live and itself still live. Before this event, Lyman Beecher had felt that Toleration meant "floods of ungodliness": Thomas Robbins had said that "Sectarianism in religion almost always destroys society": and when he heard that the Vermont Legislature had annulled all their laws for the support of the gospel, he lamented, "We have almost ceased to be a Christian nation." Though Mr. Beecher came to see that the change was a wise one, Mr. Robbins continued to be troubled in mind, especially by the Baptists, his "cross and affliction."

Doctrinal discussions gave way to the application of ethical principles to concrete evils—duelling, intemperance, prison reform and slavery. It is unnecessary to discuss the lengths to which this change has gone. "And there was doctrine! Now there are church festivals instead." The practical result was that colleges, libraries, museums, parks and hospitals, received gifts of money and service. Thus the outlook on life widened from the family and the Congregational church to include the community and the world, perhaps with the loss of some of the square-toed, sturdy independence that thought a free man should stand on his own feet.

Dancing, of course, could not be suppressed, but its character changed. In the Forties, the minuets and contra dances went out of fashion and the waltz came in. Mrs. Ann Stephens, a Connecticut woman, wrote, about 1840, in dialect, the letters of Jonathan Slick, a Yankee from Wethersfield. Young Jonathan, who knew how to make

a proper dancing school bow, besides being an expert at jigs and reels, was quite shocked at the new dances he saw in New York. "If a girl likes to be hugged and whirled around so afore the folks, the feller must be an all-fired fool not to like it as much as she does," but no one would want to marry her "arter he'd seen her tousled about before fifty people," — a strange feeling in view of the kissing games! He was scornful of a "set of folks . . . that did not know how to dance an eight reel or money muss as it ought to be done." But dancing schools in his native Connecticut were already teaching the waltz and the polka as well as the quadrille steps. Programmes, or "cards" of Hops given in Litchfield during the summer of 1867 included Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas, Galops, with music furnished by Deakin's Quadrille Band of Winsted. Fashion departments had been started in Godey's and Peterson's Magazines, and informed their readers that "Small hoops for dancing are now the fashion; and a very sensible fashion it is;" also that "Short Ball Dresses are introduced for ladies who dance; and though not so elegant as the long trains, they recommend themselves to all sensible people." For gentlemen, "Very neat patterns of gents' dancing gaiters, dancing brogans, and slips" were advertised in the papers. In the earlier times most people danced as a matter of course, just as they went to bees and training day, and the new kind of dancing was indulged in by "fashionable" and "society" people, with whom amusement was an occupation in itself.

"Unhappily," lamented President Dwight, "cards and dramatic amusements (are) indulged in by a few in our cities," specifying the culprits as "frivolous women of fashionable life." There had been other points of view.

A writer in the Connecticut Courant on the opening of a theatre in 1795 hazarded "the assertion, notwithstanding the prejudices that some have entertained against it, that as an amusement, it is the most innocent, and as a source of instruction, it is the most amusing, of any we have yet experienced." When the law was passed soon after prohibiting theatres, his disappointment must have been lightened by knowing that the building was used as a school house.

Solid, substantial citizens in the larger towns entertained at dinner, in the smaller places at supper, persons of fashion as usual doing it at a later hour than others. Mr. Dwight found society in New Haven less ceremonious and polished than in larger cities, and that in Middletown gay and sociable. Young people of a former generation, it seems, did not always take kindly to formality. One of them in 1820 referred to Litchfield as "stiff and prudish," and remarked of Stratford that the "awkward ceremony, which is there (in Litchfield) thought to constitute gentility is here despised," a view that would not have pleased the inhabitants of Litchfield, who regarded their society with considerable complacency. East Windsor also was given to "ceremonious visits."

Mr. Dwight said that reading was the favorite amusement of these worthy citizens, regretting, however, an excessive attention paid to newspapers. Peter Parley's statement that of the four newspapers published in the State, not more than three copies were taken in Ridgefield in his boyhood, would certainly not indicate this to be a very wide spread vice. It was well that President Dwight could not foresee the length to which this evil would go! He was satisfied on the whole, observing that in "almost every village are found literary men and social libraries.

A great number of men also, not liberally educated, addict themselves to reading, and acquire extensive information." Many towns had other college graduates than the minister, and men had become so addicted to intellectual pursuits at the time of Miss Martineau's visit that she complained of the impossibility of asking a question without receiving a lecture in reply. The sarcasm must be forgiven, for she enables us to know the popular authors of the day: — Hannah More, Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Bulwer (special favorites), Mrs. Jamieson, and (much below) Mrs. Hemans, and Wordsworth. Coleridge had a few readers, Hallam almost none, and Carlyle had great influence "so far as it went." The rage for Byron and Scott had reached its height earlier, and she heard the former scarcely mentioned. There had been much shaking of heads over him at first, and one cannot help regretting that Lyman Beecher never had the chance he wanted for an hour with Byron in which to set him right on some points in theology. As to the "general intoxication over Scott," one girl in the Goodrich family committed "The Lady of the Lake," to memory, and was accustomed to recite it to an admiring circle of listeners while she sat at her sewing. This girl came by her fondness for poetry naturally, for her mother's mind was full of Milton, Young and Watts.

Perhaps in the early days, the average person knew only his Watts and his Almanac, but lists of books in private libraries show a wide range of reading among educated people, including the English classics and many books we hardly know today — best sellers, such as Pollok's "Course of Time," Burgh's "Dignity of Human Nature," or Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope." Schoolmaster Johnson gave a copy of the last to his favorite pupil,



JOHN WARNER BARBER, 1798-1885.

Historian, Antiquarian, Illustrator, Author of "Connecticut Historical Collections," "History of New Haven" and Many Other Similar Works of Great Value to the Modern Student. A Native of Windsor.

Fitz Greene Halleck. It is interesting also to observe how thoroughly, a little later, Whittier's "Snow-bound" was absorbed.

The "Annuals," such as "The Bijou," "The Gem," "The Ladies' Wreath," a kind of gift book, first published in 1828 and popular for twenty years, deserve a passing word. They reveal a certain sentimental taste in reading, noticeable also in the magazines, "The Token," published by S. C. Goodrich was one of the very successful Annuals. The discovery of steel engraving made possible their great growth, because they could be illustrated and produced in great numbers. Thus adorned, "They stole alike into the palace and the cottage, the library, the parlor, and the boudoir . . . not only cultivating an appetite for this species of luxury, but in fact exalting the general standard of taste all over the civilized world." Some of the brightest literary lights of Connecticut, Mrs. Sigourney especially, lent their radiance to "The Token." The publishers spent money freely in producing these books, "which twenty years ago," said Donald G. Mitchell in 1857, "we gave to young Misses in leg-of-mutton sleeves as tokens of tender and respectful affection." The Annuals were succeeded by books like "The Family Tourist," "The Universal Traveller," "The World's Book of Natural History," each of which had an extensive sale. They were published in Hartford by Philemon Canfield, who also issued other works of Connecticut authors, Olney's "Geography," and many of the writings of Peter Parley and Mrs. Sigourney. Similar productions are not unknown today.

Contemporaries of President Dwight who, like him, disapproved of cards and dancing, could bowl or play chequers and backgammon, when reading and conversa-

tion palled. There were charades, and school exhibitions, affairs which sometimes lasted from eight o'clock in the evening until two in the morning; original dramas for these and other gatherings were written by the minister, or the schoolmaster. Yale Commencement was a great occasion. The sight of a lion, an elephant, and, later, Tom Thumb is mentioned in Thomas Robbins' Diary, and one man entered in his apprentice's account, "Gave Stephen Seymour twenty-five cents to see a striped jackass." There were occasional small circuses, regarded as of doubtful propriety until the labors of Mr. Barnum succeeded in remedying the situation. Travelling wax works were sent around by a portrait painter, Reuben Moulthrop of East Haven, and whenever a person became sufficiently prominent, his figure was taken in wax and added to the collection. Men were fined, however, for admitting puppet shows into their houses.

In the Fifties and Sixties, American girls "began to wear thick shoes, to take much exercise in the open air, to skate and play croquet, and affect the saddle." Crowds of skaters were brought to Lake Saltonstall by the railroad, and elaborate directions were given for croquet parties. "Will the epidemic rage again as it did last year till all Litchfield clicked like a vast billiard saloon?" asked one editor plaintively. Archery contests were held, and canoeing and lawn tennis "came in." In the Eighties, roller skating was a new craze; in the Nineties, golf, furnishing a use for abandoned farms. This was the era, too, of the bicycle and bicycle clubs,—a development of peculiar interest to us, for the first manufacturing of bicycles in the country was done in Hartford in 1878.

The great industry of Shakespearean readings, illustrated and travel lectures was flourishing by the middle

of the century, and was a natural successor to debating societies and lyceums. "Hannington's Diorama of the Creation and the Deluge," an entertainment advertised among others in Hartford in 1850 suggests possibilities, and was evidently intended to be both popular and moral, to judge from the prices, "Admission, 12½ cents, Clergymen free." Railroads and steamboats naturally tried to attract patrons by excursions to places like Coney Island, and there were local resorts for "parties of pleasure," such as Monte Video, or Wadsworth's Tower, near Hartford. Shore Hotels offered as inducements sailing, bathing, fishing, riding, ten-pins, and the more material pleasure of eating sea food, "which will be served in a style not to be beaten." In the Sixties, New York gentlemen who spent the summer at New London had their pleasure yachts; Woodbury House was advertized as a country resort having not only "the best spring beds," but also a "fine race course where gentlemen can exercise their horses." There were baseball games between clubs from different towns, and quite appropriately, "American soda water fountains." No wonder that stage coaches were reported as crowded with summer visitors. Various resorts were flourishing in Connecticut—Stafford Springs, New London, Guilford, Saybrook Point, Sachem's Head, Milford Point. The institution of summer boarders in the country, the product of the city and of the surplus of money, has brought in a new social life and saved and beautified many of the old farming villages, whose existence was threatened by the development of their manufacturing rivals. Examples of such places are Pomfret, Washington, Redding, Litchfield. "Canterbury," . . . observed her historian sarcastically, "has not yet attained to market gardens and summer boarders."

Travel to Europe did not at first assume its modern proportions of an annual exodus, but a few people went for one reason or another. In 1853, the observant Mr. Robbins reported, "There are very great movements in the country, mostly for pleasure. Industrious people can do more than gain a comfortable living," and added that a number of his "friends are gone to Europe mostly for health." People went also to Saratoga and New Lebanon quite early in the century, these places being visited by ministers out of health as well as by fashionable people. It is a doubtful pleasure to know that two ministers (and their horse) were kept for three nights and days at New Lebanon for seven dollars. There were also trips to Niagara Falls; one in 1826 is described on which the travellers went by canal boats and stages. Of this trip a farmer said, "he had rather cradle grain all day than to ride in the stage."

In the second quarter of the century, the serious-minded began also the organization and management of charitable societies, like the Ladies Sewing Society, as well as fairs for church and public institutions. Money to build a wall around Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven in 1839 was raised by a fair in the State House, at which, it is pleasant to know, that the ladies made \$850. In fact, the section in Godey's magazine devoted to fancy work was entitled "Articles for presents and Fancy Fairs." Thus, coincident with the manufacture of "anti-macassars" and "spatter work" was being prepared the way for the Women's Clubs which have so greatly developed the powers and widened the outlook of women.

The holidays, in the early years, were the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Election Day and Training Day. The day known as General Election was in May, when the

Legislature assembled and the Governor assumed office, not the voting day in April. Its splendor was somewhat dimmed after the overthrow of the Standing Order, when first the clergy, then the Governor's Guards, no longer dined at public expense. Finally, the clergy were not even asked to preach the election sermon. An invitation to assist in the ceremonies had been regarded as a great honor and extended to as many as possible; one minister opened the exercise with prayer, another gave a concluding prayer, while a third pronounced the benediction. The new era was a sad change from the good old Federalist days, when Election Day was a festival for the clergy, with more than a hundred ministers in attendance. Lyman Beecher describes it in lively fashion: "All the clergy used to go, walk in the procession, smoke pipes and drink;" as they were all politicians and had always managed things, they talked over future candidates with the comfortable knowledge that "their counsels would prevail." In 1820 when Election Day was held in New Haven "the clergy had a good dinner at the college hall," but next year there were only a "few ministers present. No public dinner . . . The dignity of Connecticut is departed." Yet in 1853 another clerical and not unprejudiced observer said there was "a great collection of people, much military display, and various processions. A great old fashioned Election Day." In 1867 a newspaper said the Election Parade "would have been a grand affair but for the weather, with 35 military companies present." The day, and often nearly the whole week, was regarded as a holiday. Schools and shops were closed, and visits were exchanged, at which election and federal cake were served. In many places on Training and Election Days, the game of "wicket" was played. There was also a

curious custom among the colored people of choosing a Black Governor, with all the proceedings of a regular election.

Training Days were also great occasions; all the able bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were required to appear with their arms for inspection and military drill.

"First Monday in May is Training Day,
And nothing could be grander,
Uncle John is corporal
And Daddy is commander."

There were manoeuvres, parades, sham fights, wrestling on the greens, and a grand banquet. Enterprising citizens and small boys, like P. T. Barnum, sold oysters, spirits, and cake, for there was a training cake also. Balls were held in the evening, as many as four sets dancing in East Windsor on one Training Day. By 1850, men began to tire of them and laugh them out of existence by burlesques, or hide from the messenger who came to give the necessary personal notice—and no thorough search was made.

Fourth of July was irregularly observed at first, but soon had its parades, fire works, bonfires, bells and guns, furnishing the element of patriotic noise and military display characteristic of the older holidays. There were also, of course, orations, exercises, and picnics. One is reminded of our Memorial Day by learning that in 1838 in Danbury some Revolutionary soldiers took part in the celebration; that, ten years later, eleven were present in Hartford; and that in 1851 there were a few still surviving and able to ride in a barouche in New Haven.

It is interesting to observe, meanwhile, the advance to

favor of Christmas as a holiday. Puritans of course observed it in no way. Early entries in Mr. Robbins' Diary chronicle the killing of pigs and similar un-holiday-like occupations on that day. In 1804 he "was invited to an entertainment with a number of people, it being Christmas. The people, however, were not Episcopalians." Four years later, Christmas coming on Sunday, he "said a little in reference to the Christmas Day" in his sermon. It is pleasant to know that next day he "Dined at a Christmas dinner." The few Episcopalians were every year faithfully observing the season in their little churches and by dinners, and the habit of attending these grew, much as we go to the Roman Catholic churches on Christmas and Easter. In fact, they were often the only musical events it was possible to attend. It is recorded that in 1823, the first society in Hartford had a Christmas meeting, I presume, for the first time; and that, in 1846, "Much attention is paid to Christmas, presents are abundant." The merchants were advertising "Holyday goods . . . suitable for Holyday gifts." The articles, such as "Elegant Shell Combs, Buffalo horn, common horn, Jet, etc.," strongly resemble those popular today, though perhaps less mention was made of things for children. Toys were not only fewer, but simpler. Mrs. Sigourney, who certainly never felt that her childhood was neglected in any way, described her doll as follows: "My best one had a face of cambric, black pin heads for eyes, half circles drawn with a pen for eye brows, lips a slip of vermilion silk, curled flax for tresses, and handless arms pinned submissively over her stomach." Godey's magazine for 1860 had a picture of a lighted Christmas tree, covered with toys, surrounded by an admiring father and mother, a be-capped grandmother, and properly pantaletted chil-

dren. The numbers of the Litchfield Sentinel published during the holiday season of 1867 report a number of Christmas tree celebrations in Sunday Schools, and schools, and donation parties with gifts of money to the ministers. The Litchfield church was first trimmed for Christmas in 1859. All this, however, was not without opposition.

Thanksgiving was nearer John Elderkin's heart, and its progress in becoming a national holiday was watched with real pleasure. Thomas Robbins, in 1802, mentioned four New England States as observing it; in 1818 he wrote Governor Clinton, thanking him for appointing a Thanksgiving in New York for that year and the year before; and in 1852 he was glad to record that it "now runs through most of the states." In 1860, Godey's "editress" congratulated herself that thirty-two states observed it, she having been for twelve years waging a campaign to make it a national holiday.

Connecticut had its gay set. There was, for instance, a family in Saybrook with seven daughters who set the fashions for the town; they introduced, among other things, grapefruit or "sweet lemons," and the first large broad brimmed flat hats. One of them married Commodore Isaac Hull and accompanied him on his voyages, holding brilliant receptions on his warship when in port. One given on their return from a Mediterranean trip was so "exceptionally expensive" that the government passed a law forbidding the wives of naval officers to accompany their husbands abroad. Noah Webster would have had a justifiable enjoyment of the comment of a young gentleman on one of these sisters and her fashionable attire: "But I question if this be after all the style in which a



TAP ROOM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TAVERN, DANBURY.



THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TAVERN, DANBURY.

young man of any understanding sees a young lady with most danger to his peace."

Perhaps, however, no more representative and typical function can be found than a little supper, or tea as they called it, at Mrs. Sigourney's about 1860, with only herself and a young admirer to whom she had been kind. As the meal was brought on in courses, the table at first seemed bare to the guest. Creamed oysters were served by the hostess from a silver tureen for the first course; the second consisted of baked beans in another larger silver dish, with pickles, sauces and brown and white bread in odd dishes; the third was quince sauce, raised cake, and tiny caraway cookies. As the poet served this meal with the rings on her beautiful hands flashing in the candle light, she said: "My dear young friend, I have always preserved the good oldfashioned custom of having baked beans on Saturday night, and I hope you will enjoy them as much as I do."

IV

The Sabba-day houses, with their "solemn picnics" between services, and the taverns on week days, were important social centers. The taverns on the great turnpike roads were large, some having stables for twenty-five to fifty horses, and sleeping rooms for twenty or more persons. While they furnished stopping places for travellers, like the houses which accommodate tourists today along the great motor highways, their chief business was, however, to supply liquor to the neighbors, who assembled there to learn what was going on in the great world and to talk things over. Much time, especially in winter, was spent there and in stores in tippling and petty gambling. "Many persons spend too much time at taverns," observed Mr. Webster in his morally as well as mentally didactic Spell-

ing Book. He never lost an opportunity to attack drinking in as persistent though less sprightly and urbane fashion than Poor Richard uttered precepts concerning thrift in his Almanac. Drinking, "profane swearing," Sabbath breaking, and noisy night rows were so common, that some ministers feared that "the Sabbath would be lost, and every appearance of religion vanish."

Everyone drank as a matter of course; a "scandalous amount in the middle and lower classes," said Mr. Dwight, and "not uncommon among professors of religion," according to James Morris. Rev. Asahel Nettleton, a famous Connecticut revivalist and a graduate of Yale, was particularly concerned over this custom; he found by watching the careers of his converts, that few, if any, were excommunicated for any crime except intemperance. In trying to convert people, he scarcely expected that any drunkard would be reformed, but "Though the plague cannot be cured, it may be shunned." Meetinghouses as well as other buildings were raised with spirits, and it was not supposed possible to do otherwise until men like Dr. Marsh insisted on cold water raisings, and made themselves and the buildings famous, besides sending the men home sober. Spirits were provided also at installations and other meetings of ministers, at closing exercises of schools, at public meetings, house warmings, vendues, balls, weddings, and funerals; they were expected, as a matter of course, by day laborers and casual male callers. Though President Dwight hopefully thought that the women's early loss of bloom might have been partly due to their "very general and often excessive abstemiousness," others give a contrary account of their indulgence in "schnapps" and "sling." Their failure to exercise and their loss of teeth "at an untimely date" which are also

recorded, perhaps had as much to do with the fading of their charms as their abstemiousness. Early loss of teeth was not confined to the fair sex, for Mr. Robbins at the age of twenty-six had a tooth out, "the last double tooth in my upper jaw."

Cider was a common drink, and the household supply for the year was as carefully provided as the piles of wood. Indeed, farmers were known to neglect their plowing and other important business in order to make their cider, a barrel for each adult being considered a fair allowance for a season. It was given to children. The exemplary Madame L. of Mrs. Sigourney's childhood offered Farmer Larkin "a well warmed mince pye and a mug of sparkling cider," when he called to ask her advice about a nephew who was straying into the crooked ways of Methodism. New England's mugs of sparkling cider must stand beside Old England's tankards of nut brown ale. But surely it was not good for sharp youngsters to observe of the clergy that "Those who came to our house examined my brother in his Greek and Latin, and I went out behind the barn to gather tansey for their morning bitters;" that the parson suffered a little inconvenience because of the custom of giving callers refreshments, though he was always able to get home; or to have ministers made unfit for business at their meetings, for food was served on these occasions, quite in the modern manner.

The selling of rum, as staple an article as sugar, or pork, was considered perfectly respectable, and formed the main business of many stores. In some places, a hogs-head would be sold in a day, especially in towns with large numbers of factory workers. According to reports, most towns seem to have been well supplied with cider

and brandy mills and distilleries. Apple orchards were highly valued for this reason, and Ellington, for example, was famous for its rye fields, which supplied the neighboring distilleries with grain.

Under these conditions, reform was bound to come. One or two particularly unfortunate occurrences in Litchfield caused Lyman Beecher to preach and work for temperance, and he and others, too, were soon convinced that total abstinence was necessary. Between 1820 and 1830, Temperance Societies were formed in many places. The industrial world gave some help, the earliest case being the Pomfret Manufacturing Company in 1806, and, later, the factories at Collinsville, and the Cheney silk works. "The council," said a minister in 1830, "had a very good dinner with no drink but common beer and wine," a very different description from those of earlier meetings.

Many local moral societies were started as branches of the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Good Morals to improve conditions with respect to intemperance and immorality, and included in their programmes the abolition of lotteries. These had been considered quite respectable, and were often used to raise money for public objects. In 1806, the Mohegan Turnpike was built by money raised by a lottery. The Revolutionary monument at Groton was built with \$11,000.00 raised in this way. Rev. Mr. Robbins had various adventures with lotteries; in 1802 he bought a ticket for \$6.00 in a lottery to encourage literature in New York; in 1806 he sent for another for \$7.00, again in the New York lottery, "for the encouragement of literature and inland navigation;" in 1815 he bought a ticket in the Washington Bridge lottery on which he paid \$5.00; and in 1816 he finally drew a prize amounting to \$17.00, "an unexpected favor."

Churches used this means of obtaining money; in 1804 the Legislature granted a lottery to a minority in a church quarrel which it favored and wished to help get a building; in 1805 the church in Ellsworth was given permission to hold a lottery to raise money to pay a debt; in 1815 the First Congregational Church of Lyme obtained a similar permission to raise \$4,000.00 to begin a new meeting house. With the change of opinion, laws were enacted, forbidding lotteries, and churches passed votes of disapproval.

V

The absorbing business of pioneering left little place for civic consciousness, or for a feeling of pride in the appearance of the villages. This, like philanthropy, has been a growth of the nineteenth century. There was usually a village green, though it was uncommon to have one as large as New Haven's: in some places, a broad public highway, sometimes thirty rods in width, took the place of a common. It was found useful in many ways,—as a gravel bed, as the promenade for cows, pigs, geese and sheep. People drove over them at will, a road being thus made across the New Haven green, from Litchfield turnpike which passed the corner of Elm and College Streets. The meeting house sat “squarely and authoritatively in the middle” of these commons, with the school house and tavern near by. The erection of shops was permitted, and in many villages, the greens were narrowed, or practically destroyed by such encroachments, which were allowed through lack of interest or understanding of their possibilities.

The condition of the Madison green was probably typical: “An open common crossed by numerous cart paths and encumbered with buildings of all sorts. The

meeting house disputed possession with a tannery and alder swamp." Litchfield, though having "numerous handsome dwelling houses, some of which are elegant edifices," was slovenly in appearance as late as the Sixties, with uncut lawns and streets dark at night. Even until the Eighties, the roads were deep with mud and dust. Front yards were usually adorned with wood piles, necessarily large, whose quality indicated the character of the owner.

About 1800, New Haven and a few other towns began to take thought for their appearance. By 1850 this feeling was becoming general. Owners of animals were ordered to keep them off the commons and highways, old buildings were removed, swampy places were filled in, and rocks blasted out to make the ground level, trees were planted and fences built. Maps were made of the towns, and crooked and muddy streets, often little better than cart paths, were straightened, graded, and named. Of course there was opposition. In Norfolk town meeting about 1850, many strongly opposed fencing the green, as it would make unnecessary travel to go around it instead of across, and it would take away the best piece of cow pasture, an inherent right. To this use had come the Revolutionary arguments concerning the rights of man! An opposite and amusing example of such objections happened later in New Haven when one man opposed moving the granite posts at the entrances to the green a sufficient distance apart so that ladies wearing hoop skirts could pass through.

Peter Parley, in "The First Book of History," informed the "Children and Youth" that New Haven was the handsomest town in New England. Barber, too, spoke approvingly of it, as well as of Waterbury and Middle-

town where the houses had court yards in front, ornamented with trees, choice shrubs and plants. He disapproved of the appearance of New London, "considering the wealth of its inhabitants," a criticism which was confirmed by others. When Miss Frederika Bremer was driven around Hartford by Mrs. Sigourney in 1849, the town impressed her with its affluent and prosperous appearance. By this time, people had forgotten the struggles with the forests, when trees were regarded as enemies or nuisances to be disposed of as quickly as possible, and were planting them along the roads and highways. Many were memorial trees, and lived to a great age. Elm, poplar, buttonwood, maple and linden trees were set out in many of the villages, as well as fruit trees—apple, pear, peach and plum. The apple trees were mostly seedlings, some fit only for cider, the chief object in early orchard planting. There were various kinds, pumpkin sweetings, seek-no-farther, pearmain, and golden russets. Orchards in Stonington were so thrifty that, early in the century, apples and cider were exported.

The gardens were filled with all the "culinary vegetables" with which we are familiar, including pompions, "commonly called pumpkins" according to Mr. Webster. Tomatoes were planted, but rather as a "strange exotic, producing little red balls which bore the enticing name of love apples!" Sixty years after his college days, a graduate of Yale recalled seeing President Day at work in the strawberry beds in his garden near the present Battell Chapel, and "his example there made a more lasting impression on me than all the examples in his Algebra or mathematics." Gardens were gay with flowers and fragrant with herbs, including the necessary tansey. There was some attempt at landscape gardening, for

Barber was much impressed with one establishment in East Haddam which had "bold and lofty terraces, and is a striking object to travellers passing on the river." It is interesting to learn from another source that even earlier a man in Stonington had arranged his grounds in terraces as he had seen it done abroad. In Norwich, a Mr. Mumford, given to lavish expenditures, had a head gardener from Holland, and his garden was one of the finest in the State.

By the Fifties, the art of landscape gardening had reached a stage of sufficient sophistication to include criticism of earlier attempts. One writer deplored New England taste in these matters, where people preferred "symmetry, stiff formality, straight lines and the geometrical forms of the ancient or artificial style of laying out grounds," explaining this "starchy smartness" by the fact that it had been done by the ladies of the family, who planned "trees paired off like vases on a mantelpiece; walks laid out like the entries and passage ways of a dwelling house; garden plots with little circles in the middle, suggestive of the idea of a center table in a drawing room." A more kindly explanation offered by this same writer was that the houses were built by working people. Samuel Goodrich, revisiting his old home in 1855, wrote his brother a charming description of the changes in the appearance of the village.

Roads had usually grown out of paths made by the neighbors in going from one house to another, and on Sundays, "as ye way now runs to ye meeting house." Except for these paths, the streets in the villages were "often in summer as green as the neighboring fields." Little attention had been paid to anything but the destination, and the roads were hilly and rough, and at times deep

with mud, so that travellers found "the roading very bad." As the use and ownership of carriages and wheeled vehicles became more common, it is easy to understand the enthusiasm for turnpike roads, which had an effect much like that of the automobiles today in developing the great motor highways. President Dwight observed in his travels that women were not getting sufficient exercise for their health because it was becoming unfashionable to walk or ride horse back. Would he have liked the earlier time when "on the road you often meet those Connecticut girls . . . on horseback, galloping boldly, with an elegant hat on the head, a white apron and a calico gown. A stranger takes them by the hand, and laughs with them and they are not offended."

Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, said in his report of 1808 that fifty turnpike companies had been organized in Connecticut since 1803. Their stock was regarded as a permanent and profitable investment, though there was some feeling on the part of those who had to pay the tolls, without the solace of sharing the profits. Pointed remarks were made that the "nabob who lived without labor upon the dividends of his insurance, bridge, turnpike and U. S. stock was not required to pay a dollar (taxes) for his wealth."

During these years, also, many of the old meeting houses were torn down and new ones built, often on the sites of the old ones. Disagreement over the location of the new buildings was the cause of many church quarrels, which often led to separations and the formation of new churches. Between 1804 and 1835, Lebanon, Cornwall, Seymour, Durham, New Milford, North Haven, Milford, New Haven, East Hartford, and many others had new meeting houses. The new buildings were of

course larger, and more ornate. "The cross on the steeple," said Thomas Robbins of one of them, "appears tasty and elegant."

As civic consciousness developed, Park Departments were organized as well as the more utilitarian fire and police departments, and provision for lighting and water supply. Many parks were given by private individuals, often as memorials. At first, there was uncertainty as to the proper policy to pursue with regard to their use and development. In Bushnell Park in Hartford, for example, for some years the playing of football and similar games was allowed, which kept the park looking untidy, but about 1870 the authorities began to think of it as a public garden.

In the smaller towns, village improvement societies undertook many activities, building sidewalks, putting in lights, and clearing up the commons, raising the money by lectures and entertainments. The originator of these societies and, also, of Arbor Day was a Connecticut man, B. G. Northrop. The society in Litchfield which had been organized in 1875, had at the time of its twentieth anniversary thus raised and spent over fifteen thousand dollars for walks, street lamps, and a watering trough. Suitable memorials for those who died in the Civil War were also built. The first of these in the country, erected on the green back of the church in Kensington, was started during the war, and paid for by popular subscription.

VI

Federalist pessimists said queues and manners went out with that "great frown of heaven," the Constitution of 1818, and with the triumph of the looser, freer ways of democracy and toleration. At any rate, about this time,

the old style dress began to disappear, together, it might be added, with the less desirable old style stocks, whipping posts and tithing men. Conservative old ladies and gentlemen, such as Caldwell, Daggett, Morgan, and Tallmadge, continued to wear the same fashion as late as the early Fifties. Humphries, one of the Hartford wits (died 1818), in his old age was "large, portly, powdered, with a blue coat and bright buttons, a yellow waistcoat, drab breeches, and white top boots," and a few years earlier probably resembled the young gentleman on a Derby stage coach, described by Timothy Pierce as "cutting a dash in a sky blue speckled velvet coat, his hair dressed *a la quotatine*, the ear locks powdered and frizzled so as almost to meet in front of his nose, truly indicative of the furniture of his brain."

Dr. Samuel Nott, who lived until 1852, always wore the old style dress, with ruffled shirt, a style which had its disadvantages. Rev. John Elliott was described as a "tall, very thin and slim man. His legs, always dressed in black stockings and small clothes, seemed too slender to bear him up." Noah Webster dressed in "black, with long tailed coat, close fitting small clothes, white silk stockings, frilled shirt front and tight stock." The Houghs in Meriden wore a similar costume which was a sort of transition style. As the ruffles on the shirts were made and elaborately starched and ironed by the daughters of the house, with each tiny pleat carefully laid down and creased by the thumb-nail, the younger generation of girls at least must have approved of democracy! The "long stockings" worn by men in 1925 with hair held in place by "Slickum" instead of "powdered and frizzled, form part of a costume almost the antithesis in spirit of the clothes of 1825.

Manners, too, were formal; the ideal was to be "courtly, yet complaisant and affable."

In 1803, the very Federalist young minister, Thomas Robbins, had his hair cut short, or bobbed as we should say today, which he had "worn tyed about twelve years." In spite of his conservatism, he had an eye to such changes in fashion, if they were properly sponsored, for in 1809 he observed at the Yale commencement that the "president wore a round hat"—both these fashions, as well as the use of leather shoe strings instead of buckles, and pantaloons instead of breeches, being regarded as marks of questionable simplicity. By the Forties, the usual conventional dress was doubtless that worn by Mr. Roger Minott Sherman, "a black cutaway coat, trousers to match, black satin waist coat, high collar and white cravat," for Mr. Sherman lived in an "imposing mansion," had a gig for himself, and a coach for Mrs. Sherman who seldom walked, even to the nearby church. Jonathan Slick, in humbler station of life, wore a less genteel costume, an "old blue coat, and pepper and salts . . . cowhide boots, red handkercher." As farmers prospered, they wore "boughten cloth" instead of homespun of blue or butter-nut brown, a change not approved by everyone. Professor Silliman recorded as "an interesting remnant of primeval New England manners" the sight in the church in Northington of "men not parading in foreign broad-cloth, nor the women flaunting in foreign silks and muslins."

Volumes are needed to consider the endless and fascinating subject of dress, whose fashion changes while it is being described, even waist lines having been as variable in former days as now. One or two interesting points in the philosophy of clothes may be noticed. An advocate

of sartorial dignity said in lamenting the departed styles: "It is vain to say that the present dress is at all equal to it, in what ought to be one of the objects of good dress, to give an idea of dignity and respect. The man who is now inside of a plain black dress, with unpretending boots, may be as good a man, as able a man, as he in white topped boots and breeches, but he is not respected as much, for he no longer assumes as much. He has become only one of a multitude instead of being one above a multitude."

When doctrines of the equality of men had progressed to the point where all wore velvet instead of homespun if they chose, and the manufacturers were bringing it within the reach of every one's pocketbook, the question of propriety assumed another form. It recalls the necessity laid on the clergy of depending on themselves, after the overthrow of the Standing Order, for there is much talk of what a lady would or would not do, and of the extremes of fashion worn by those lower in the social scale. "Where there is so little distinction of dress as in this country, it would be as well for a lady to mark it for herself as much as possible; not wishing to attract attention in the promenade, she should dress plainly, but of all choice materials, the quality of every part of her dress being good and rich, if a little beyond her purse, she can economize by less expensive dress at home, and where she is well known." The morality of this advice seems as doubtful as its democracy. "Outrageous . . . The hoops worn by girls in factories. They outhoop all, they are really atrocious." "Housemaids now wear crinoline and whalebone, and spring petticoats, and pretend to do their work in them." Different manifestations of the same feeling were the feuds between the girls in Miss Pierce's

school in Litchfield and the "hired help" in the town, who presumed among other things, to take an equal place in the choir on Sundays, and were most inelegantly called "Potwrastlers."

As to the moral proprieties of dress—during the first part of the century, a woman of thirty, or a married woman must wear a cap or be considered vain and frivolous. Though hats were admitted to be prettier than bonnets, they were thought suitable for children only. As late as 1873, a conservative describing the choirs of the early years of the century, remarked bitterly, "The ladies sang with their bonnets off in those days—and they wore bonnets not hats." Of course, concern was felt when short dresses began to be worn, though nothing very radical was meant—merely a skirt that did not touch the ground and had no train. Otherwise, it was like other dresses in material and style, and was equally ornamented with elaborate trimming of loops and ruffles.

The popularity of public characters was marked by naming fashions and articles after them. In the Thirties, skirts were expanded by "Jackson" cord; "Garibaldi" blouses were worn; during the Fifties, the hoop was brought in by the Empress Eugenie and fashion magazines advertised the "new invisible Empress trail," a crinoline adapted to short dresses. Jenny Lind's name was used widely, for ear-rings, hair gloss, writing paper, chandeliers, and even "segars," as well as fur garments, called Jenny Linds and Victorines. Thin stockings, by the way, are not a purely modern fashion, for the same papers were advertising "transparent thread hosiery—very beautiful."

Besides the problem of dressing like a real lady, without the aid of sumptuary customs, was the equally im-

portant one of living like a true republican. Private coaches were unpopular as signs of aristocracy, and were taxed as luxuries in the early days of the Republic. There were, in fact, very few of them, but early in the century as roads were improved, carriages began to be used and by 1820 wagons were fairly common. There was carriage making in Windham Green in 1808; it was one of New Haven's early industries, and was started in Wallingford about 1820 by a man who had been an apprentice to a New Haven firm. By the middle of the century, going to church in a spring wagon or a covered carriage was as common as saddle and pillion had been fifty years earlier. When churches were built, they were supplied with horse sheds instead of Sabba-day houses.

Similar exhortations were made as to houses. "In the interests of republican simplicity, even the rich should not build expensive houses." A country farm house suitable for a family of "rather a cultivated or intellectual character," the architects felt, could be built in 1856 for \$2,000.00, though this would not allow the "profession of decoration or gingerbread work so often seen." A working man's cottage which, it was thought, would attract workers back to the farm would cost \$500.00, \$300.00, or even less. When Mr. Sigourney built a new house in 1820, it had massive Ionic columns, a two story portico, a wide cornice, and high ceilings, marble mantles, folding doors, and French windows, but this of course was for a very "cultivated, or intellectual" family. As the family included two clerks from his store, it required the services of two men about the grounds, store and stables, and three female servants. The establishment of Mr. Daniel Wadsworth, who was noted among his contemporaries for the grandeur of his belongings, consisted of a cook, a cham-

bermaid, a waiter, a gardener and a coachman. "Expenditure was urged to provide facilities for personal cleanliness and to attract people to the open air by means of summer houses and rustic seats. Apparently there was need of this counsel. President Dwight, for one, had wished we might 'learn wisdom from the Asiatics and habituate ourselves to regular bathing.'"

A more attainable expression of republicanism was the fashion of building houses in the classical style. Various elements caused its popularity—the influence of Thomas Jefferson who admired this style, the imitation of French examples rather than English, the sympathy roused by the war of Greek independence, and the publication of books of architect's directions which any carpenter could follow. The extreme simplification of this style was also very common—omitting the portico and making a narrow deep building with the gable to the street. Fashions in furniture extended the classical idea. Later followed the Gothic style, which was widely copied, while there were also admirers of the Italian country house. One lively writer divided the history of building in America into four eras:—the log cabin, the barn, the Greek, the cocked hat cottage; writing later, he might have added a revival of the Colonial. Many places today are more Colonial in appearance than in the Seventies, when that style was at best only tolerated.

In connection with republicanism, the prophecies of Jonathan Slick are surprisingly accurate. After speaking of our "military captains and ginerals, and deacons, and squires," he said that 'there will be a republican nobility,' and "the pure blood of this 'ere country will some day be that which goes right back to the Revolutionary War. All Yankee noblemen will have to search for their titles on



OLIVER ELLSWORTH HOUSE, WINDSOR.
Home of Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth. Maintained as a Memorial Museum by the Connecticut Society Daughters of the American Revolution.

the pension list of this 'ere very generation, and the old man that now draws his twenty dollars a month, will be the founder of a line, jest as noble as any that ever sprung up in the heart of old England." The truth of this is best appreciated by the genealogist tracing lines for membership in societies like the D. A. R. Similar reflections were made by a person who had travelled abroad, and found American women possessed of superior beauty because of their superior intellect. "Part of this is the result of our institutions . . . Hence that high bred look . . . Everywhere here one sees faces that have more marks of ancestral culture than any except the very best faces abroad."

VII

"Connecticut is a small state," said Woodbridge's "Geography," "but distinguished for the number and character of its literary institutions." Morse's "Geography" put it more quaintly. "A thrift for learning prevails among all ranks of people in the State. In no part of the world is the education of all ranks of people more attended to than in Connecticut."

Attendance at school, however, was likely to be irregular, if the weather was bad, or help was needed at home. In summer, the larger boys were at work, and the teacher was a woman, but in winter, when young men as old as twenty-five might be among the pupils, with one great object to put the teacher out, a man of might was necessary. Memories of the little red school houses, which, as a matter of fact, were frequently not red, but unpainted, have been affectionately preserved in song and story. When revisited in after years, they proved often to be a "weather beaten little shed, less than twenty feet square," with slab seats around the walls, and equipment consisting of little more

than a broom, a pail and a dipper. They gave, however, the necessary foundation of the Three Rs, with sometimes a little geography, considerable attention to spelling from Mr. Webster's book, and, on Saturdays, instruction in the Catechism, and the New England Primer for the younger children. Young Jonathan made his hooks and trammels with a quill pen, skill in whose manufacture was one of the necessary accomplishments of the teacher; the ink was made in school out of maple and oak bark, steeped in indigo and alum.

The first quarter of the century has been called the dark age of Connecticut public school history. During that time, many private schools—academies—were started for those who wished something more for their children than the common schools afforded. These academies became numerous and flourishing, and as many as 10,000 pupils are said to have been taught in them at one time, many coming from other states. The academy on Greenfield Hill, described as "a small building, about the ordinary size of a school house," was one of the earliest co-educational schools in the country. Another famous institution was Bacon Academy in Colchester, whose students numbered many sons of Southern gentlemen who were being fitted for college. Barber's description is worth quoting. "The Academy is built of brick, 75 feet by 24, three stories high, spacious and commodious. It is a free school for the inhabitants, and is open for scholars from abroad upon very accommodating terms. All the higher branches of an English education are taught, and the institution is accommodated with philosophical apparatus of various kinds. There are usually about 200 scholars, with four or five instructors."

Smaller private schools were apparently as numerous

as the little taverns, the thirst for knowledge thus mitigating the thirst for physical refreshment. These schools for younger children, especially little girls, were kept by ladies in any available place—a spare room, the basement of the church, an unoccupied store. Their methods seem to have unconsciously antedated some of those made famous by modern educators, for the younger children, who went at an extremely tender age, were given considerable liberty, and allowed naps and lunches. Beginning when she was fourteen, Miss Sally Goodell taught such a school in Norwich for more than sixty years. Among her pupils were Donald G. Mitchell and his brothers and sisters. Both boys and girls were taught sewing and knitting, making samplers and patchwork quilts.

Many boys and young men were placed in the families of clergymen to be prepared for college or taught theology. Some ministers had six, eight or ten pupils at a time, sending three or four a year to college. Dr. Samuel Nott, Rev. Samuel Goodrich, Rev. Ammi Robbins were all teachers of boys; Mr. Robbins had in all nearly two hundred under his instruction, and Dr. Nott between two and three hundred. There were famous teachers of girls also, like Miss Pierce of Litchfield, whose school, started in 1792, lasted nearly forty years and trained hundreds of girls. Hers is said to have been one of the first schools in the United States for the higher education of women, and at one time had 137 girls in attendance. With fifty or sixty students, all the teaching was still done by Miss Pierce, occasionally helped by her nephew, John Brace. Later "Daddy" Brace was one of the principals, and three assistants taught French, drawing and music. Miss Catherine Beecher and Miss Lydia

Huntley had schools in Hartford; Miss Caulkins had one in New London, later leaving teaching for literary and charitable work; and Miss Prudence Crandall had a promising school in Canterbury, wrecked by her admission of colored children. Schools that became famous a little later were Grove Hall in New Haven, with pupils from the South, many of them sisters of Yale students, and Miss Porter's, started at Farmington in 1844.

The young ladies were taught English, French, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, music and Latin. They must also learn the "ornamental branches": drawing, embroidery, painting, especially historical and Biblical scenes, and filagree work, instead of the earlier accomplishments of spinning and weaving. These were the subjects which Miss Huntley began to study, even after she had been teaching several years, in order to give her proposed school prestige. A term of fourteen or twenty weeks was supposed to do much towards finishing a girl's education. At the end of such a period, she was expected to bring home visible evidence of her accomplishments—an elaborate piece of embroidery, a water color drawing, or the family coat-of-arms, if the former were too much for her talents. Teachers must present a formidable list of accomplishments, to judge by the following advertisement: "Two young ladies would like situations as teachers in a healthy locality, or in an institution or family, provided the remuneration is ample. The English branches, music on piano or guitar, Latin, German, French, with leather-work and wax flowers, will be taught; Grecian oil, water color, Oriental, antique, monochromatic, polychromatic and enamel painting, and pencil drawing, in the best style." Such a list, though quite different, might

rival that presented by the modern college girl with her extra-curriculum activities.

These academies were an important influence in education in Connecticut for years, and many still flourish, but their importance has been lessened by the free high schools which were started about 1840—Middletown in 1841; Hartford in 1847; New Britain in 1850; New Haven in 1859; Bridgeport in 1876. Connecticut also had its colleges and the first regular law school in the United States, that in Litchfield.

A great and characteristic contribution of Connecticut to education has been her development of text books. Here she was a leader, and a real revolution was accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. This work had a patriotic as well as a pedagogical aim, for "propaganda" is not entirely a product of the World War. The continued use of English books without any change after the separation from England, had some curious results. Dilworth's "Arithmetic," the usual text book before Daboll's, was modeled on English customs, making it vulgar to talk of dollars and cents. At first English books were adapted, but finally American books were written by American authors. The preface to Root's "Arithmetic," published at Norwich in 1795, said: "Transatlantic authors will no longer do for free and independent America—we have coins and denominations of money peculiar to ourselves; in these our youths ought to be instructed and familiarized." Items in old account books show this change taking place. In 1805 the seating committee of the church in Cheshire "desired to Revise the old money that was formerly seated on into Dollars and cents and that the Meeting House be seated on the old money with the addition of two cents four mills on the

dollar having Regard to age and decency to be seated on the List." Webster also wished to make a national book, without reference to English ceremonials and customs, and the fables in his "Speller," which became household sayings had this object.

In this work Connecticut writers played a conspicuous, indeed a leading part. At the head of the list perhaps should be placed Noah Webster, with his famous "Institutes"—spelling book, reader and grammar—the first of the kind published in the country. The statement often made, that by these books he gave us a uniform language, does not seem exaggerated in the face of figures:—24,000,000 copies sold by 1847; and 40,000,000 by 1870. Colonel Tallmadge's store in Litchfield advertised "Webster's Institutes, by the gross, dozen, or single book." No wonder Webster felt free, when he visited the General Assembly in New Haven, to correct a person's pronunciation, no matter how exalted his station, though it must be added that these efforts were not always kindly received. Many strange words were current, and as he said, "a vicious pronunciation prevailed among the common people of the country."

Connecticut men were equally active in the study of geography, Jedediah Morse of Woodstock, the "father of American geography," producing the first book of that kind in America. Dr. Noah Porter said of its use at Yale about 1800, "Our memories were severely tasked on Morse's two huge volumes of geography; we were required to recite the whole of them." Jesse Olney published an atlas geography in 1827, popular for thirty years, in which he abandoned the old way of beginning with the solar system, and started with things near at hand.

There were other writers of textbooks, equally pop-



NOAH WEBSTER, 1758-1843. YALE 1778.

A Native of West Hartford. Author of "The American Spelling Book," "A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language" and Many Other Books. America's "Leading Lexigrapher" and one of the Greatest Educators that the Country has Produced.

ular; in fact this was a form of literary work especially congenial to the mind of the Connecticut Yankee. So much was done that Mrs. Sigourney, who, besides being a teacher, had herself written "Evening Readings in History" (for the young), had some reflections on the fact that "the pen of the sage and the historian (had) learned to accommodate itself gracefully to the capacities of infancy . . . Great will be the responsibility of the present generation,—For them Genius has descended to definition, and Science disrobed itself of the mystery of the ages." But, she questioned, "Has not something very like a dunce's avenue to literature been opened?" and drew the unique conclusion that the "superior learning of the ancients has been resolved into a single circumstance, the scarcity of books." It is not surprising to learn that she produced a "Child's Book of the Soul" that was used for birthday presents.

Another accomplishment of the nineteenth century, especially of the latter part, was the development of a world of literature for children, for there were few books for them a hundred years ago. An industrious reader soon exhausted the meagre supply and was driven to extract such nourishment as he could from books for adults. Young Moses Stuart read Edwards on "The Will" at the age of twelve "intelligently and with the deepest interest"; James Morris was especially fond of Watts on "The Mind," which his father drew for him from the library in Bethlehem. Peter Parley, who disliked Mother Goose and her kind, and admired Hannah More, wrote and sponsored an amazing number of books for children, and one child who studied his "History" and "Geography" found them interesting, easily learned and remembered. Sunday School libraries were useful in supplying books to fill this

want, and took in a measure the place now held by juvenile libraries. At first the number of the books was small and their character of doubtful literary value, but even in the eyes of Henry Barnard, they were an "important agency . . . in the moral education of the young."

Connecticut also produced leaders in education—Henry Barnard and W. T. Harris. Here, too, was established the first agricultural professorship in a college in this country, and the first agricultural experiment station. These, with manual training schools, are perhaps a start towards meeting certain criticisms of our systems of education, such as those made by farmers in their meetings—that the whole tendency of education has been away from the farm and the farmhouse to careers that promised freedom from manual labor. Perhaps this tendency is due partly to the great influence of ministers in education, not only as teachers, but also as members of school boards and visitors.

VIII

It is said that Jesse Lee, who started Methodism in Connecticut, heard of the theology of New England while he was in South Carolina, and "yearned to preach the Gospel to them." A stanza from their favorite Watts expressed these "hard sayings" of orthodox Congregationalism:

"Conceived in sin, O woful state!
Before we draw our breath,
The first young pulse begins to beat
Iniquity and death."

"Mary Godwin," said Miss Pierce to one of her pupils, "I see inbred sin on your back," and said it so often that one day a charcoal sketch was fastened on the school room wall of Miss Pierce with inbred sin on *her* back.

It was logical, therefore, to consider a violent conversion necessary to change a totally depraved human being, "harder than rocks, deafer than adders, and more stubborn than the sturdiest oaks," to one that could indulge the hope of becoming heir to salvation. There is something resembling modern ideas of applying business methods to religion in the way this condition was met. While it was not thought that a revival could be "got up" at any time, it was frequently set in motion by a group of responsible people who felt that the waste places of Zion's vineyard needed renewal and cultivation, by "awakening, convincing, and converting sinners," or to speak Biblically, "Jericho's walls must tumble down in consequence of the blowing of the ram's horn. Naaman must wash seven times in the waters of Jordan, that he may be cured of his leprosy." Sometimes, however, a revival started spontaneously and imperceptibly, perhaps because the subject was brought to attention by revivals in neighboring places. A series of prayer meetings might be held — "A number of the members of our church have agreed for a private concert of prayer on Saturday evening, for a revival in this church and society," wrote a minister. A "Female Society for the Promotion of Revivals" existed for some years in Tolland County, and even if there were no formal organization, groups of women met to pray for the conversion of friends. Following the recommendation of the State Association to the churches in 1806, a church in Cornwall appointed a committee to visit with the pastor the families of the society to converse on religion. The result was a revival which brought out people who though living near, had never been to church, and reformed the "lawless youth" so that dances were not held for several years. In the course

of a revival, special prayer meetings were held in different parts of the town, as well as conferences and lectures in the meeting house. Pastoral visitations were made upon "anxious persons," and finally "inquiry meetings" were held, often in the deserted ball rooms, people sometimes going to six or seven sermons a week. Revivals might be preceded by a season of fasting and prayer, and were attended by prayer meetings whenever there was opportunity, even at sunrise, surely a "diligent use of the means of grace."

Help was usually given by neighboring ministers, and sometimes by revivalists. Rev. Asahel Nettleton, a Connecticut man and a graduate of Yale, worked almost constantly for ten years in this way (1812-1822), and was very thorough, shrewd, and successful. Three men who had also studied at Yale were ordained evangelists at Guilford in 1831. Revivalists labored very successfully in Cornwall at different times. Another method of procedure was by "delegate meetings," when two or three delegates from neighboring churches united with a church for special work. In 1831-2 many parishes had "four day meetings," voted by the church and devoted to exhortation, preaching and personal inquiry. Several ministers took part in these.

There was frequently great excitement during a revival, though ministers tried to avoid this manifestation. Ordinary activities were reduced or almost suspended; school children from nine years old as well as their elders were included in the movement. Many accounts of conversions have been kept, some persons remaining under conviction for months before they were hopefully converted. Reflected glimpses of these meetings are given in the diary of Obookiah, the most famous

pupil of the Cornwall Mission School. Meetings were solemn, he said, though no doubt many young people attended to see others, their looks and dress. One meeting had a sermon; at another, there was "neither sermon nor any discourse delivered, but many prayers were offered up for those who were rolling sin as a sweet morsel under their tongue. Men were so affected they could not finish their discourse but wept." Mr. Nettleton at one meeting began his address as follows: "What is this murmur which I hear? — I wish I had a new heart. What shall I do? — They tell me to repent — I wish they would give me some other direction."

Donald G. Mitchell speaks of the "over spill of youthful enthusiasm during the revival days at Yale," which apparently needed it. In 1801 about one-third of the students were converted during a revival; in 1820 about twenty-five students at Yale became "hopeful subjects of divine grace. But we much fear the bustle of Commencement." At the time of a series of four-day meetings in 1831 in New Haven, "about one hundred in college have hope."

Revivals continued more or less throughout the century. One church in a small town had twelve between 1800 and 1876, gaining thereby 474 members. An important influence working against them was that of Dr. Bushnell, with his "able and singular" preaching. His "Christian Nurture" (1846), emphasized the importance of the early training of the child as against the less natural method of violent conversion — "the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise." Another influence was the feeling that revivals were being artificially managed.

Such meetings meant much work for the minister.

"My labors," wrote Dr. Nott, "have been very great the past year, as there has been great religious attention among my people. I have not only preached statedly on the Sabbath, but have attended many occasional meetings for prayer or inquiry meetings, and a few times preached twice during the week." An awakening might go on for several months and spread over several towns, with many additions to the churches, so that "The church which had appeared to languish as with a wasting hectic, put on the aspect of returning health." As a result of the awakening in New Haven in 1820-1, about 300 joined the churches. The movement spread to neighboring towns until at least 25 of the 31 congregations in the county had revivals, and between 1,500 and 2,000 persons were estimated to have been converted. In 1831, "not less than one hundred congregations in this State . . . have been mercifully visited in the past year." Large numbers of those who were converted joined the church, some of the later figures being: — Wallingford, 1840, 130 converted, 100 joined the church; Franklin, 1844, 90 became church members; Guilford, 1866, 90 church members; Southington, 1838, 124 . . . 1869, 54.

These figures are interesting, if taken in connection with those for population and church membership. Before 1818, everyone had to support the Congregational church, that is, pay the "Priest tax," unless he "certificated," or declared his intention to support another church. If he did not observe this requirement, the authorities were likely to take away a horse, or heifer and sell it to pay the tax. It was necessary also to see that if people certificated to a society, they actually supported it. Yet the number of those who belonged to the church as members, and attended on Sundays seems small, if figures given for



PAUL WAYLAND BARTLETT

Most distinguished American Sculptor. Works include Equestrian Statue of Lafayette, in the Louvre, Pediment over House Wing of Capitol at Washington, Michael Angelo, Columbus in Congressional Library, etc. Born New Haven, 1865.

East Windsor are any indication. The testimony that people were lax in their attendance at church is quite universal, many in fact never going, or not attending for years. Sensitiveness to uncomfortable seats, rain, extremes of heat and cold are not entirely modern. Under those conditions, attendance was described as "thin."

With a population in 1810 of 3,081, East Windsor had, in 1809, according to Thomas Robbins, a first society or parish containing over 173 families, a first church of 68 members; and a second society with a church of 100 members. In 1815 the first society had 173 families, (34 of whom had certificated), and 100 church members. According to the same authority, in 1807 a church in Norfolk had 228 members (some of whom had moved away, but not been dismissed), and of these 130 had been added during a great revival season in 1800. The church at Ellsworth had forty members, and though many more had seats and attended regularly, they left the church at Communion time. Salisbury and Eastford, which had revivals in 1815 and 1818, had no pastors and churches with very small membership, seventeen male members in Salisbury and "about twenty" in Eastford, of whom only six were men, and most of them advanced in life. As fruits of the revival in Salisbury about two hundred were admitted into the Congregational church, besides several who united with other churches.

Need of conversion did not necessarily mean bad character. "In the previous external character of those who have been awakened and hopefully converted, there was great diversity. Some were persons of exemplary morals, and constant attendance on the means of grace. Others were immoral in their conduct, deistical in their sentiments, regardless of the institutions of the gospel, and

open revilers of the Christian religion. But by far the greatest proportion were persons who in early life had been dedicated to God, and who had enjoyed the privilege of a religious education."

In speaking of these revivals, an almost technical language was used, that is reminiscent of the Quaker, John Woolman:—houses of seriousness, persons under conviction, hopeful subjects of grace, peaceful in hope, a season of spiritual refreshing, spiritual shower, religious attention, religious impressions, awakening, heavenly sprinklings, the humbling doctrines of the gospel.

Two matters of interest are a very direct belief in the intervention of Providence, as shown by fasts appointed not only for revivals, but also for such definite things as bad weather, or epidemics of sickness; and certain informalities in the services. That both minister and congregation should wear "outcoats" and perhaps mufflers and mittens, is not surprising in view of the wintry temperature in the meeting houses, modified only by foot stoves. No wonder that in the coldest weather "the seven or eight worshippers in leggings would well nigh drown the preacher's voice with the prodigious knocking and stamping of their feet." The sprigs of meeting-seed handed about are familiar, but not the sight of the family dog pattering up the aisles when he became weary of the long service, described by Mrs. Stowe in "Oldtown Folks;" and the recollection of a person in Woodbury of the comforts of a square family pew, with the grandmother sitting in the middle in a Boston rocker. In hot weather, men came to church without their coats, or felt free to rise and take them off during service.

Through fear of Popery, little music had been allowed in the Puritan services, the choice of tunes to which the

Psalms or Watts hymns might be sung being limited to a very small number. The lack of books and general independence of the congregation in following the tunes had made the singing in many cases an "odd noise." This state of mind had been gradually changing, and by 1820 there was much interest in "promoting psalmody." Trained singers, not necessarily members of the church, were provided for a choir, and a man was hired to teach singing and lead the choir on Sundays. These choirs were large, some having one hundred singers and several choristers. They sat in the gallery of the meeting house, distributed in four parts, placed on different sides of the gallery. An old picture shows the inside of a meeting house, its square pews with the "bobbin balustrade," and the singers on three sides of the gallery. The choirs were accompanied by whatever musical instruments local talent happened to supply, with various combinations of bass-viol, violin, flute, clarinet, sliding trombone, French horn, and cornet. By 1825, organs were appearing, in spite of opposition, together with carpets and stoves, other signs of "Toleration" and a softening spirit. It is said that the first organ in a Congregational meeting house in America was given to a church in Berlin. In 1796, sixteen-year old Charlotte Sheldon of Litchfield wrote in her diary ". . . went to the church in the afternoon . . . we heard a flute and a bass viol which Becca and I mistook for an organ, quite a laughable mistake."

The singing schools were an important feature of social life, especially after dancing was frowned on, and of course were favored and helped by the ministers. The instruction consisted in "learning the gamut," in practising the fugues which were very popular at one time, and the anthems produced on special occasions, such as Fast

and Thanksgiving days and the Sunday following a funeral. By 1830, there were books of hymns. One popular collection, "Village Hymns," published about 1824 by the revivalist Rev. Asahel Nettleton, was used chiefly for prayer meetings. This book had an extensive sale and brought in a large income. An interesting bit of gossip is that Mr. Nettleton, who had wished to become a missionary, gave all the profits of the first edition to the A. B. C. F. M., and later another handsome "donation" (of \$500.00) to the same organization, besides gifts to others. Interest in music was great enough to bring about the establishment of Music Vale at Salem in 1839, which flourished until the Civil War, and is said to be the first school in the United States devoted exclusively to the study of music.

There were reasons for the influential position of ministers other than their official relation to the State, for they were bound together in many ways. They met often in their numerous associations and professional duties. Besides the help given each other in seasons of revival, there was very frequent exchange of pulpits, and there were even closer ties. Many clergymen had been classmates in college, and the large family connections in some cases almost formed a ministry by heredity. In the Goodrich family, the Rev. Samuel Goodrich was the son of one minister, the father of another, and had three ministers for sons-in-law, while the pulpit in Durham had been in the family for 126 consecutive years. "A short time since," said a son who was not a minister, "we reckoned among our relations, not going beyond the degree of second cousin, more than a dozen ministers of the Gospel, and all of the same creed." The Robbins family was even more "addicted" to the pulpit—Rev.

Thomas Robbins having as clerical relatives a grandfather, father, two uncles, two uncles-in-law, two brothers, and a nephew-in-law, besides various cousins. At the time of the overthrow of the Standing Order, Connecticut was well supplied with ministers:—about one hundred forty-five Congregational, thirty Episcopalian, sixty-two Baptist, besides Methodists and others, bringing the number up to two hundred fifty settled ministers, with fifty or more in addition available as candidates or unattached.

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SAVINGS BANKS

BY PLINY LEROY HARWOOD

Born at Stafford, Conn., March 25, 1876; connected with the Mariners Savings Bank, New London, since 1896; Vice-President and Treasurer since 1903; Chairman of the Board, The Winthrop Trust Company; member of Board of Education since 1902; President since 1916; Trustee Norwich State Hospital 1907-1912; Chairman Rivers, Harbors and Bridges Commission, State of Connecticut; President Savings Banks Association of Connecticut 1921-1922; Republican; Congregationalist; Mason 32; S. A. R.; Mayflower; Clubs: National Republican of New York, Thames, New London. Home, 226 Ocean Avenue; office, The Mariners Savings Bank, New London, Conn.

NO HISTORY of Connecticut would be complete without a reference to the institution which during the last century has been a tremendous factor in developing the sturdy thrift and financial independence which characterize the people of this small but mighty State.

The name "savings bank" should be applied with discrimination. We find today many institutions which are commercial and operated for profit using the title "savings bank" or "savings department," whereas an institution entitled to the use of this name should be one designed to encourage the habit of saving and one which is operated solely for the benefit of its depositors. Perhaps the best definition of a savings bank is one written by Professor James H. Hamilton of Syracuse University and printed in his "Savings and Savings Institutions," in 1902, as follows: "Savings banks are institutions established by public authority, or by private persons, in order to encourage habits of saving by affording special security to owners of deposits, and by the payment of interest to the full extent of the net earnings, less whatever reserve the management may deem expedient for a safety fund; and in furtherance of this purpose bank offices are located at places where they are calculated to encourage savings among those persons who most need such encouragement." The savings banks of Connecticut are all of the mutual or trustee type, having no stockholders, and are under the control of the State both as to their operation and the investment of their funds. Their record from 1819 to date justifies the pride and confidence which the citizens of the State have in them.

According to de Malerce, modern savings banks found

their first literary advocacy in France, their first practical test in Germany, and their first statutory regulation in England. The reputed author of the idea, Hughs Delestre, proposed in 1610 an institution for the benefit of the "wage worker, who might deposit his savings and withdraw them again, in part or in whole as he might require, with interest according to the time they had been on deposit." And it was his design that this institution would take the place of almsgiving. The benevolent citizens of Hamburg in 1778 announced the establishment of an institution for the special benefit "of the more dependent of the industrial classes, such as servants, day laborers, hand workers, seamen, etc., for the collection and increase of their small savings."

Philanthropically inclined people all over Europe became interested in this experiment, the ministers and the churches, especially in England, becoming prominent as its supporters. Jeremy Bentham in 1797 published his scheme for a "Frugality Bank" and in 1799 Rev. Joseph Smith was operating such a bank in his parish at Wenderover, while Priscilla Wakefield's Tottingham Friendly Society had added a savings bank department in 1798. The Encyclopedia Britannica says the savings bank was one of the "many excellent projects of Daniel Defoe in 1697," but a careful search has not disclosed authority for this statement. Credit is generally given to Rev. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, Scotland, as being the founder of the modern mutual savings bank. Parson Duncan in 1810 established a savings society for the benefit of his parishioners and at the same time made the statement that in his opinion the operation of this plan would "render the parish pauper tax unnecessary." The purpose of Parson Duncan, who being imbued with

true Scotch thrift knew how to take care of his pennies, was to induce his parishioners to save their pennies and leave them in his care. Similar institutions sprang up all over England and in 1817 we find that Acts of Parliament were passed for their control. The Savings bank had become an important and widely recognized philanthropic institution, but its economic possibilities were hardly realized.

In 1816 James Savage, a young Boston lawyer, while on a visit to Maine found a letter written by someone in Scotland to a relative in America and giving an enthusiastic account of the success of the new form of savings institution which was to do much for the wage earning class. It appealed to him as being a worthwhile philanthropy and on his return to Boston he called together a number of his friends and business acquaintances at a meeting in the old Exchange Coffee House where after an earnest discussion it was voted to apply to the General Court for an act of incorporation. The application to the General Court set out that the applicants "humbly express the opinion that an institution, by which all classes in the community may be encouraged to the practice of frugality and especially industrious mechanics, either journeymen or masters, seamen, laborers, and men of small capital, widows and others is desirable; that they do not expect or desire any benefit or profit to themselves other than is enjoyed by every individual of the Commonwealth; for the success of such a design, they are willing to devote a part of their time, without reward, to the management of such a charity—and give the profits of the establishment in due proportion to the depositors."

The Massachusetts General Court favored the plan

and in granting the charter in 1816 to incorporate the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston, they established the first mutual savings bank in the world which operated under government authority.

In the same year the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society was organized and opened for business but was not incorporated until a later date. The Salem Savings Bank was organized in January, 1818, followed by the Savings Bank of Baltimore in December of the same year, and the Bank for Savings in New York in March of 1819. On June 19th, 1819, a group of forty-two of the leading citizens of Hartford met at Ransom's Inn, the center of political and social life at that time, and launched upon a long and honorable career the sixth institution of its kind in the United States, naming it the Society for Savings in Hartford.

These men had previously, on April 29th, after numerous meetings and painstaking deliberations, formulated a petition to the General Assembly "to be holden at Hartford on the second Wednesday of May, 1819" which was as follows:

The subscribers respectfully petition your Honors to take into consideration the subject of Savings Societies; such societies as have recently been established in Boston, New York and other places. Your petitioners believe that the influence of those societies, wherever they have been established, has been extensive and beneficial, by holding in safety and obtaining an increase on the savings of the industrious poor. Experience has also demonstrated the superior excellence of these Societies over all laws that have been enacted for the encouragement of the poor, and over all other moral and provident societies, in their tendency to promote industry and economy, and consequently to suppress vice and immorality.

It is neither convenient nor necessary to detail the history of the rise and progress of these savings institutions, but we beg

leave to remark, that they originated with an obscure individual in England, and were for a period regulated by the rich and powerful. They soon burst into notice and extended their influence throughout the realm. As in England these Societies have existed longest, so also there is to be seen the greatest demonstration of their influence. By a late investigation it appears that the disposition of the funds of the several English Societies, who but a few years since, were, most of them, unwilling to exert themselves, and were careless in spending their small earnings, are now the owners of Government stock to the amount of \$6,975,217.77. A demonstration so grateful to every benevolent mind, cannot fail to receive its merited consideration.

However surprising the first order of the above stated result may appear, a careful enquiry will remove every doubt.

Although the trustees of these Societies are now generally rich, a fundamental principle common to all of their charters—to wit, that the trustees shall gratuitously render their service—has practically raised an impenetrable barrier against deposits by the opulent part of the community, thus contributing an indemnity and assurance in the possession of the wealthy, while the industrious and economical poor alone are entitled to enjoy the benefits of this Society.

But we need not cross the ocean to learn experience, or gather testimony on the subject; Societies have already been incorporated, and their beneficial efforts have been experienced in Boston, Salem, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and we believe in other places in our country.

We may also add that an investigation, in those places, by wise and good men, has resulted in the opinion, that the habits of industry, economy and enterprise in our own countrymen, give to this country a decided superiority over England for the establishment and usefulness of such associations.

Your petitioners therefore pray your Honors to grant an act to incorporate with power and privileges universal and necessary, and corresponding with the powers and privileges of the Savings Societies incorporated in Boston and New York. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray.

Dated Hartford, April 29, 1819.

The Committee's report was as follows:

To the Hon'l House of Representatives now in session:

The committee to whom was referred the petition of Isaac Per-

kins and others praying for an act of incorporation, beg leave to report that having heard the Petitioners and enquired into the facts set forth in the said Petition, Your Committee are of the opinion that the Incorporators of a Society such as prayed for in said Petition will be highly advantageous to the poorer class of citizens in the neighborhood of its establishment and will tend to promote industry and economy and to suppress vice and immorality—and are therefore of the opinion the prayer of said Petitioners ought to be granted.

Respectfully submitted,
ED'M FREEMAN, *Chairman.*

May Session, 1819,
In House of Rep's,
Attest: A. STERLING, *Clerk.*

The Act of Incorporation, or charter, was clear and concise in form and served as a model for the savings banks subsequently organized:

In 1819 Hartford was a community of about six thousand people. The street lights were oil lamps and the lamp lighter went his rounds each night with a short ladder and a blazing torch. Running water in the houses was unknown. Postage on a letter to New York was twelve and one-half cents and it took twenty-six hours to deliver it. Going on a journey the traveller used a saddle horse or the stage coach by land and a sailing packet by water. The telephone and telegraph were unknown. The freight trains consisted of market wagons piled high with produce and driven by farmers who exchanged their products for goods. The money situation was precarious. It was a time of inflated and depreciated currency, of wildcat banks and worthless bank notes. Gold was almost unknown. A deluge of paper money issued by state banks without proper supervision or authority had resulted in the crash of 1814 and the wave of ruin and undermined confidence only began

to recede in 1816 when the Government in its attempt to bring order out of chaos established the United States bank. The country was just emerging from the period of barter and trade. The dollar had not been standardized. It was not the custom to deposit money in banks. The commercial or deposit banks had few depositors, but made their profits from their own capital, and the capital they secured from issuing their notes, in discounting the notes of borrowers. A bank was a place to borrow money rather than to deposit it. The capitalist of that time measured his wealth in tangible possessions rather than in securities or money. The merchant invested his surplus in goods, the farmer in land or live stock, and the shipbuilder in ships or cargoes sent out for trade or barter in other parts of the world. The employee class was just developing and the business which had the largest number of employees was that of ships and shipping. Employees were being paid in money rather than in goods and they needed a place to keep their surplus earning in safety and also an opportunity to place those savings at interest. The savings bank was therefore developed at the time when its need became apparent.

It was the intent of the founders that the savings bank should be used only by the wage earning class. In the early days of the Provident Institution for Savings of Boston a clergyman was denied the privileges of the bank because it was doubted "if he was a just object of the care of the institution." The trustees of this institution also fixed \$300,000 of deposits as the limit of responsibility they would assume. They evidently reconsidered this decision for the bank within three years passed this amount, which seemed at that time enormous, and today has assets of over seventy millions.

The growth of the Society for Savings of Hartford was satisfactory but not rapid, for we find that in 1824 the deposits had reached the sum of \$72,000. When an account reached \$100, the bank could require the depositor to accept at his withdrawal either stock which the bank owned at current value, or cash, at the bank's option. Thus was the bank prepared for a run. Money could only be withdrawn on certain periods not oftener than quarterly and then only when notice had previously been given.

It was but natural that the Hartford experiment should attract attention in other places and in 1824 we find that the Norwich Savings Society started business followed in 1825 by the Middletown Savings Bank and in 1827 by the Savings Bank of New London. All used the Society for Savings as a model and were appreciated by the wage earners in their respective locations. The story of one is the story of all.

The first office of the bank was the home, store, or business office of the treasurer who at first set aside an hour each week or month to receive deposits and probably his pocket was the first safe used by the bank. One mutual savings bank tells the story that during the first years of its existence its treasurer was accustomed to walk about town wearing the high, white beaver hat so fashionable in those days, and on meeting a depositor he would receive money for the bank, or if the depositor wished to withdraw, he would count out the money from a roll in his pocket and record the transaction in a note-book which he carried in his hat. The bank itself was open only one hour a month and all the street transactions were recorded at that time. As business grew the hours were increased and after a few

years the treasurer was probably authorized to expend fifty or a hundred dollars for a strong box in which to keep the cash and securities of the bank. It was many years before any savings bank had acquired sufficient assets to warrant owning a building of its own. The first was the Society for Savings which erected in 1834 a building 24x46 on a lot on Pratt Street on which the three subsequent buildings of the bank have also been erected. At this time the bank had deposits of about \$300,000.

The great demand for capital in the development of this new country enabled the savings banks to secure high rates of interest from the first and while the directors of these philanthropic institutions had in the early days carefully scrutinized the "would-be" depositors and had limited the amount which might be deposited by an individual to a comparatively small sum, a tendency to accept large deposits apparently developed in some places. Attention was particularly called to this by many citizens who felt that well-to-do persons were using the savings banks as depositories for their funds in order to avoid taxation. The restrictions which were placed on amounts of individual deposits in early days are exemplified by a resolution passed by the directors of a savings bank in 1847 as follows: "That whenever the treasurer has reason to believe that any sum offered above \$50 for deposit by any individual belongs to one family, he shall refuse to receive the same, until he has the approval thereof of the majority of the directors." We are informed that a director of the Norwich Savings Society once declared to his fellow-directors, "Gentlemen, the deposits of this institution have now reached

the enormous amount of \$5,000,000. Who is going to take care of this money when we are gone?"

In 1850 a law was passed which limited the amount which a savings bank might accept on deposit from one individual in one year to \$400. Previously the matter had been regulated entirely by the directors of the various institutions. This limitation was not changed until 1872 when the amount was increased to \$1,000 in one year. In recent years this amount has been increased to \$5,000 in a period of three years. The low average deposit in savings banks generally answers the critic who would refer to the savings banks as a depository for tax dodgers. In 1843 the average deposit was \$130, while today it is approximately \$650.00.

It was this limitation of amount which might be deposited in savings banks which stimulated the competition which first appeared in 1850 when a law was passed permitting the organization of savings and building associations. These institutions were permitted to receive deposits in the form of stated payments on shares of stock not exceeding \$1,000 in one year from one person. They were permitted to loan to members on real or personal security and in addition to the regular rate of interest on loans they were permitted to charge "such a bonus as the parties in each case may agree upon." They were also permitted to invest their funds in stocks of the cities and banks of this State, or in the United States or in the States of New York or Massachusetts.

The managers of these institutions apparently exceeded their legal restrictions and brought themselves into disrepute. In 1853 the bank commissioners were directed to examine these associations and in 1858 the act authorizing their establishment was repealed and the

associations then in existence were requested to close their affairs. They were enjoined from receiving any deposits of money whatever from anyone and from taking any bonus or greater rate than 6% on their loans. Evidently they delayed closing their affairs for in 1865 an act was passed fixing July 1, 1866, as the final date of liquidation for these associations.

In 1871 there was opened in Waterbury, what purported to be an agency of the Lawrence Savings Bank of the City of Lawrence, Kansas. This agency advertised to receive deposits in the same manner as savings banks and to pay interest at the rate of 8% per annum. The Legislature very quickly passed a law to prevent the establishment of similar agencies and enjoined this company from doing further business.

The next competitor of the savings bank was the trust companies organized under State Laws originally for the purpose of doing only a trust business. These institutions saw an opportunity to receive deposits in excess of the amount which the savings banks were permitted to receive and in 1893 a law was passed permitting them to accept savings deposits. The growth of the savings departments in trust companies has been very rapid and as a natural consequence within the last fifteen years savings departments have been developed in national banks and both have grown at proportionately greater rate than the savings institutions with which they compete.

The United States Government established the Postal Savings Bank in 1910. This has not had the growth which was expected particularly in those states where mutual savings banks exist. The Postal Savings Bank is patronized generally by foreigners who in their own

countries know of no other savings institution. The low rate of interest paid by the Government and the exceedingly restricted operating policy have not tended to popularize this form of savings depository.

In spite of competition savings banks have grown and prospered. It may be that this competition has been of real benefit in that it has tended to modernize the methods of savings banks which had probably not kept up to the progress of the times and which had not held to the spirit of the service which was the foundation stone of the early institutions. The manifold service given through many departments by the modern savings bank is but a reflection of that desire to benefit mankind which inspired the founding of the first savings institution.

No attention was paid to savings banks by State Officials for many years. The General Assembly in 1821 passed an act requiring the several commercial banks in which state money had been invested to deposit at the office of the comptroller of public accounts annual statements under oath. No special form was required and each bank made up its own statement according to its own views. The first step to examine the banks was taken at the May session 1836 when a committee was appointed and empowered "to inspect under oath all officers, agents and servants of the banks." The following year John C. Palmer and Chancey F. Cleveland were appointed bank commissioners. From that time the office of bank commissioner became permanent.

The first report of the bank commissioners of Connecticut was made as of October 1, 1836 at which time the combined capital stock of the thirty-one discount banks was \$8,750,000; the amount of deposits, \$884,764;

the notes in circulation, \$1,922,700. The principal item of investment was in bills discounted by corporations or individuals, the former amounting to \$238,739 and the latter amounting to \$9,530,547. The commissioners found much to criticize in the management of the banks; calling attention to the fact that several banks were paying dividends which were not earned and were concealing losses from the stockholders; that stockholders were borrowing from the bank upon pledges of their own stock and large amounts were loaned out of the State in highly speculative enterprises, particularly railroad ventures at very large rates of interest. No mention whatever was made of savings banks in this report nor was there reference to savings banks until 1843, at which time there were nine savings institutions with total deposits of \$1,690,689.38.

The commissioners then commented on savings banks as follows:

Your commissioners have examined the several savings banks and have been highly gratified to find that most of them have been well conducted, and have sustained little or no loss during the recent season of unexampled pecuniary distress and embarrassment. It is reasonable to suppose that such might have been the case with all if an equal degree of care, diligence and caution had been observed by those under whose direction they were controlled. Losses to a considerable amount have been sustained by reason of investing in stocks, post notes and extraordinary loans without adequate security. There appears to be a disposition on the part of the officers in some of the savings institutions to loan as little as possible on real estate, and it has been noticed that such officers were generally directors or large stockholders in banks of discount in the vicinity—consequently such a manifestation was not surprising as directors in banks are apt to be prejudiced against loans based on mortgage security.

Your commissioners are of the opinion that the Legislature never intended that the funds deposited in an institution for sav-

ings should be made the basis of stock speculation, but rather that they should be loaned on mortgage security where they might at all times be safe and sufficiently available.

* * * * *

From a careful examination of the several savings banks no evidence can be found that any considerable portion of their deposits are made with the view of evading the assessment laws; indeed, there are but few instances where the amount deposited by any individual exceeds or equals \$1,000; and in most cases where such a fact exists it represents the funds of an estate in settlement. In all cases not thus situated if the deposits exceed \$1,000, notice has been given to the depositors to reduce it at least to that sum. The amount of deposits varies from \$20 to \$500 and the institutions where the larger sum is exceeded are not numerous.

A comparison of the Savings Bank of Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven with the similar institutions in Norwich and New London or with the banks of discount in the State, demonstrates the superiority of real estate securities over any other that can be substituted; and as the amount deposited by "laborers, minors, widows, and orphans" in the institutions for savings has increased to more than a million and one-half dollars, it becomes the duty of the Legislature to take such measures as shall guarantee its permanent safety.

Your commissioners would therefore recommend the passage of a law providing that loans should in future be made on mortgage of real estate only, such estate being of double the value of the amount loaned; and further provided that no future purchase shall be made of any state, city, bank, insurance or other stocks, post notes or bonds.

Herewith is submitted a statement of condition of the several savings societies in the State with several remarks as are applicable.

| | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------|
| John C. Palmer | } | Commissioners. |
| Frederick S. Wildman | | |

May 15, 1843.

Then followed a detailed report on the following savings banks:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Hartford Savings Bank | with deposits of \$704,440. |
| Norwich Savings Bank | with deposits of \$293,871. |

Middletown Savings Bank with deposits of \$396,549.

Savings Bank of New London with deposits of \$168,256.

New Haven Savings Bank with deposits of \$115,747.

The deposits of the Savings Bank of Tolland, Bridgeport Savings Bank, Willimantic Savings Institution and the Plainfield Savings Bank together amounted to less than \$12,000. There were in all the banks 14,000 depositors.

The first law enacted in which savings banks were mentioned was in 1833 when it was required that "the treasurers of all banks for savings shall make and return to the comptroller of public accounts a true statement of the monies belonging to their respective institutions in the same manner and at the same time as is prescribed for the cashiers of all banks and the secretaries of all insurance and turnpike companies."

The next law passed was in 1843 revising the law of 1833 regarding returns and requiring more details and providing further that:

In the case of any savings bank in which the deposits shall be less than \$120,000, such bank may loan not exceeding \$30,000 on personal security provided that such loan shall not exceed one-half the amount then on deposit, and in the case of banks with deposits in excess of \$120,000, they may loan not more than 25% of their deposits on personal security. All other loans shall be on real estate mortgage.

It is also provided that the reserve fund shall be not more than \$5000 for a bank of \$250,000 or less of deposits and in the case of banks with deposits exceeding \$250,000, not exceeding \$15,000. It was required that all earnings after contingent fund requirements and expenses and after allowing for losses should be semi-

annually divided among depositors but no dividend "need be made on any other fraction than one-half of one per cent." This was the first step toward regulating the investments of savings banks, and the development of the present investment laws is an interesting story.

The old New England saying "Don't put all your eggs in one basket," was early applied to the savings banks. They were the forerunners of the modern investment trust which seeks through diversification to minimize losses. We have already called attention to the fact that the bank commissioners from the beginning of their authority urged the mortgage loan as the safest form of investment and this has continued to be the bulwark of assets of savings banks to this time. The tendency to invest too much in loans on personal security was early discouraged as was also the temptation to deposit large sums in commercial banks at high rates of interest. In many cases the officers of savings banks were also connected with the commercial banks. It had become the practice in some instances to use the funds of the former to build up the deposits of the latter. Laws were passed limiting the amount which might be deposited in another bank and also to check interlocking directorates.

That the managers of the savings banks did not take kindly to the attempt of the Legislature to regulate their affairs was indicated by the report of the bank commissioners of 1844 when they said:

It has been a source of gratification to your commissioners to witness an improvement in the condition of this class of institutions, particularly in those whose reformation seemed most essential.

The institution of examinations into their affairs and the laws of the last Legislature are well calculated to produce beneficial

results; notwithstanding these banks have not been able to make loans agreeable to the requirements of the law, to such an extent as they desire, yet when we consider the large amount of capital which has remained idle, seeking investment, it is not surprising that they also should have an unusual amount of cash on hand and times have not been such as to afford a fair test of the propriety and utility of the laws relating to them, and we should not feel justified in submitting any proposition for their alteration. The amount of deposits in several institutions has increased although efforts have been made to reduce it, in banks in Middletown and Hartford, and no deposit has been received except from those who are particularly entitled to participate in the benefits intended to be conferred on particular classes of our citizens by these corporations.

In 1850 it was required that at least 50% of the deposits of the banks should be invested in loans on real estate. In 1874 they were enjoined from loaning on real estate outside of Connecticut. In 1888 it was required that 50% of the assets must be invested in mortgage loans in this State but it was permitted however that in meeting this requirement investment in the bonds of the United States, states or division of states which the banks were allowed to purchase might be classed as loans on real estate. The reason for this was that some of the banks being unable to make loans at home had gone into cities where they were unfamiliar with real estate conditions and values and where in many cases real estate "booms" were in progress. When the reaction came real estate values dropped and the savings banks found themselves heavily loaded with foreclosed real estate on which they were obliged to suffer heavy losses.

From the beginning savings banks had invested in stocks of commercial banks and some of them had made unfortunate investments in railroad securities which had resulted in loss to the bank. In 1858 the first com-

prehensive investment law was passed. This was to the effect that savings banks should neither loan on nor purchase any stock, bonds, or other securities except the public stock of any of the New England States, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky or of the United States or of any city, town or borough in this State or of the city of New York, Boston, Providence or Albany, all other investments to be on mortgage security in this or other states. In 1873 savings banks were enjoined from investing in stocks or bonds of any railroads. In 1888 the banks were permitted to invest in the first mortgage bonds of railroads located in any of the states of which banks were allowed to purchase securities provided that dividends of 5% had been paid regularly on the stock of the railroad for not less than five years previous.

The investment laws of Connecticut today are rated with the best in the United States being very similar to those of New York and Massachusetts. Six per cent has always been the accepted rate of interest on mortgage loans. The requirement that no loan shall be made in excess of 50% of the value of the property has been in effect almost from the beginning. In 1877 the legal rate on loans was continued at 6% but savings banks were permitted to take interest for not more than six months in advance.

The question of how much surplus the bank should be permitted to retain has varied through the years. In 1854 banks were not permitted to have a surplus or contingent fund greater than $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the deposits. In 1868 they were required to have not less than 3% nor more than 5% of their deposits. Subsequently the law has been changed leaving much to the discretion of the Bank Commissioner.

The expenses of the banks have always been low. It is interesting to note that in 1842 the salary of the treasurer of the Society for Savings of Hartford was \$1,000 and the expenses of that bank for the half year ending December 1, 1842 were \$998.83. For the first sixteen years of its existence the bank paid dividends at the rate of 5% and for the next seven years up to 1843 the dividends were at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}\%$. The dividend rate was practically the same in all the savings institutions.

Up to the time of the World War the average annual cost of operating a savings bank was about one-quarter of one per cent. Under present conditions this has increased to approximately one-half of one per cent. The willingness of the best citizens of each community to serve as directors or trustees without compensation has given to these institutions the benefit of the best financial management which could be provided in their respective locality and practically without cost to the bank. It has been a matter of pride with the officials of savings banks to keep expenses as small as possible in order that depositors may reap the full benefit from the money which they entrust to the bank.

The early boards of trustees were made up of men of all callings and vocations including philanthropists, poets and eccentrics. These boards of trustees have been self-perpetuating bodies and there is evidence of a real sense of responsibility in that these boards have continued to be representative of the best men in each community.

Up to recent years the president of a savings bank was not permitted to draw more than a nominal salary. In 1873 a law was passed permitting savings banks whose deposits exceeded \$500,000 to pay their president

\$300 a year. Later a salary scale for presidents was enacted into law which increased this amount somewhat. Except in a few cases the president of a Connecticut savings bank is really the chairman of the board, the treasurer being the executive officer and real head of the bank.

From a desire to keep down expenses the quarters of the savings banks were very meager for many years. In the report of the bank commissioner for 1866 we find this statement:

Too many of our savings banks are kept in public houses, lawyers' offices, merchants' stores, and in other small and inconvenient rooms for the transaction of business. The savings bank of \$100,000 or \$200,000 should have a safe and convenient place to do its business.

In some cases savings banks were started in the same room with existing discount banks and remained with them until they were able to remove elsewhere, but within the past twenty-five years, to provide a proper and convenient place for the depositors as well as the employees, the savings banks have entered upon a building program which has given the State some splendid banking structures. These buildings are not intended to be ornate, but rather substantial and convenient.

No tax was paid by savings banks until 1851 when a law was passed requiring that all savings banks pay the State annually an amount equal to one-eight of 1% of their total deposits. In 1857 this was changed to three-sixteenths of 1% ; in 1859, one-quarter of 1% ; in 1862 to one-half of 1% ; in 1864 to three-quarters of 1% . In 1873 the rate was made one-half of 1% on all deposits loaned on real estate and 1% on all other deposits. This

rate was reduced to five-eighths of 1% and the deduction in favor of real estate loans abandoned in 1877. In 1878 the rate was made one-quarter of 1% at which rate after allowing certain arbitrary deductions it has continued to the present time. The tax paid to the State now amounts to approximately \$900,000 annually.

Up to about twenty years ago it was not considered ethical for a savings bank to spend any money whatever on advertising. Some savings banks did have a modest card in a local newspaper but most savings banks did not spend one dollar for advertising purposes. Today the advertising budget of a savings bank would represent quite a substantial amount and the expense is justified inasmuch as through a program of publicity many are induced to become depositors and to start savings accounts who otherwise might never take this important step.

The first advertising of the savings bank was done by its trustees who told all the working people of their acquaintance of the new institution founded for the benefit of the wage earning class. Some pages in the pass books of early days were used to disseminate advice on saving money and many thrift slogans were coined by Connecticut bankers which were worthy of Benjamin Franklin, the patron saint of Thrift. In a pass book issued by the Newtown Savings Bank in 1855 the depositor is informed that the bank had "been established for the purpose of affording a secure investment to persons who have not the facilities of safely putting their income otherwise to use; that it was a mistake to suppose that sums of *trifling amount* were not worth saving; that cents saved soon accumulate to dollars and so on to larger sums; that many persons commencing

life without patrimony, have arrived at competency by their own industry and frugality."

In their desire to convey to the public the message that the savings institutions was intended for the small depositor, the founders of some banks used the title Dime Savings Bank and accepted deposits of ten cents or more. Of late years the slogan, "One dollar will start an account" has been generally adopted, but children are permitted through the school savings plan to deposit as little as a penny.

The charters of some of the early banks gave them special privileges which led to bad feeling and finally resulted in a withdrawal of these privileges and the enactment of General Laws applicable to all savings banks. In 1897 the Savings Bank of Tolland was given and still retains the right to carry checking accounts, because of the fact that there was no commercial bank in or near the community.

The accounting methods of the early savings banks were in some cases open to considerable criticism. There was no uniformity and we find the commissioners in 1873 calling attention to the method employed by one treasurer as follows: "In this instance no cash account was kept at all and the funds of the institutions were kept with the private funds of the treasurer, he, himself, keeping no private cash account, no ledger account being kept of his earnings or his loans and indeed no ledger accounts at all were kept except with individual depositors. His practice being at such times as it was necessary for him to make a statement of the condition of the bank to ascertain from his ledger the aggregate balance due his depositors; from a memorandum book the amount of interest received and the expenses paid, and

having no account by which he could determine what his assets would amount to, if there was any excess in his assets over what was called for by this process, he claimed such excess as his own private property. The commissioner found it necessary to investigate the matter and discovered that the actual liabilities of the bank were considerably greater than those stated by the treasurer in his last report."

Connecticut today is credited with having the most efficient bank department in the country and the methods of accounting employed by all the savings banks are the best that experience has developed.

One of the important things undertaken by the savings banks was the development of the school savings plan by which children are early educated in habits of thrift and savings and which also brings them into intimate relations with the savings bank which is the depository of the school fund. The school savings bank plan was brought to New York from Belgium, and to the Mariners Savings Bank of New London goes the credit of having established the first school savings plan in Connecticut.

The savings banks have been the greatest factor in the building of Connecticut homes. The question of housing a rapidly growing population could not have been as satisfactorily answered by any other agency. Individuals are urged to save and to own their own homes. The savings banks have provided the depository for small savings and by the combination of these small savings have been enabled to loan enormous sums on mortgages on Connecticut property. Their present investments in loans on mortgages amount to over two hundred sixty millions of dollars.

Savings banks are not now considered to be philanthropic institutions. The wonderful opportunities given to everyone in this new country have enabled the individual to attain high standards of living and financial independence. The barrier between the so-called wage earning and employer classes of earlier days has almost entirely disappeared and anything which savors of paternalism is not popular. The savings bank, in assisting to bring about this change in human relations, has established itself as one of the greatest agencies in the progress of civilization.

The largest number of savings banks in the State at one time was ninety. This number has been reduced by voluntary liquidation or by merger with trust companies in communities where it seemed advisable to make such a combination, and it is not probable that the present number of seventy-eight will be increased. The difficulties surrounding the establishment of such an institution today are numerous and practically every community in Connecticut is within reach of a substantial savings bank. Transportation, excellent mail service and the telephone have brought the savings bank to the door of even the rural dweller.

The seventy-eight mutual savings banks in Connecticut today have over 800,000 depositors with a total of over \$500,000,000 of deposits and total assets of over \$547,000,000.

They have gone through all the financial depressions of the past century with great credit to their management and by their demonstration of strength in time of stress they have more than any other agency helped to stabilize conditions during the periods of crisis. During the Civil War it was feared that the savings banks of Con-

necticut would be placed in a serious position through withdrawal of funds. As a matter of fact the Civil War gave Connecticut its great impetus as a manufacturing state and so much money was put in circulation that the savings banks grew rapidly and were heavy buyers of Government securities at a time when the Government was hard-pressed for funds with which to carry on the War.

This history was repeated during the World War when the savings banks of Connecticut again made rapid growth and with the life insurance companies were the heaviest buyers of Government obligations. They were instrumental in placing a huge amount of Liberty Bonds with individuals through the partial payment plan, and by this method they have educated thousands of people to become investors in good securities. Having taught the individual to save money, they have gone a step further and are teaching him how to invest his accumulated savings.

While no one can foretell the future for savings banks it is but reasonable to believe that their growth and usefulness will continue and that they will meet changing conditions of the future as they have in the past; and that as mutual institutions they will always be, in the words of the great emancipator, "of, by and for the people."

THE HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT INSTITUTIONS

BY EDWARD WARREN CAPEN, PH.D.

Sociologist; born Jamaica Plain, Mass., September 24, 1870; son of Samuel Billings and Helen (Warren) Capen; B.A., Amherst, 1894; graduate Hartford Theological Seminary, 1898; Ph.D., Columbia, 1904; married Lydia Elizabeth Sanderson, of Cleveland, Ohio, October 6, 1904; ordained to Congregational ministry, May 13, 1912. Engaged in historical researches for American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1904-1907; in sociological and missionary investigations in Africa and Far East, 1907-1909; organized Kennedy School of Missions of Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1911, of which became dean in 1919, having been instructor and professor of sociology in same from 1911. Member Board of Missionary preparation of United States and Canada, 1911-1922; assistant recording secretary American Board of Foreign Missions since 1915. Fellow Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain. Republican; Congregationalist. Clubs: Authors' (London); City, University (Hartford); Amherst, Psi Upsilon (New York). Author: *Historical Development of the Poor-Law of Connecticut*, *Sociological Progress in Missions Lands*, etc. Home, Hartford; office, The Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford.

INTRODUCTION

WHILE the subject of this monograph is broadly entitled "The History of Connecticut Institutions," the treatment is confined to certain definite classes of institutions; namely, those of a penal, reformatory, and philanthropic character; and of these the only ones considered are those which are supported in whole or in part from the public treasury, state, county, town, or city. In other words, we are dealing with the institutional provision made by the public through taxation for the delinquent, defective, and dependent members of the community.

No one can understand this phase of Connecticut's history without remembering two characteristics of its political development. From the time when the early government was organized through the union of the three settlements, the town has been the center around which the State has been organized. In spite of the increasing inequality in the populations of the towns, it has never been possible to change the system by which in the lower house of the Legislature no town, however large, has more than two members and no town, however small, is without at least one. Thus, the smaller towns have a veto over legislation.

The other factor is traceable in large degree to the system of government prescribed by the charter of Charles II, which continued in force down to 1818. It was the refusal to grant large power to the Governor and the consequent excessive development of the legislative arm of the government.

The result of these factors has been that Connecticut

has been very slow to develop state institutions. On the other hand, it has been very free in aiding institutions started and controlled by private corporations or groups of individuals. To a large extent it has left the institutional development to individual initiative or has entrusted the management of public institutions to towns or counties. Jails and workhouses have been an exception, because manifestly criminals must be dealt with by the entire community, but even here counties and towns have often assumed the right to refuse to obey the mandate of the Legislature and the State has been very slow in establishing reformatory institutions.

It is impossible to understand the institutional development of Connecticut without a knowledge of the principles which underlay the attitude of the people towards criminals, paupers, and defectives before institutions were provided for their care. Hence, a sketch, at least, of the policy of the Colonial Government is necessary.

For the purposes of this study, the history of Connecticut may be divided roughly into three periods: The Colonial, closing with the revision of the laws of 1784; the period of Early Institutional Development, from 1784 to 1875; and that of Institutional Specialization, from 1875 to the present time. The Colonial period witnessed the firm establishment of many of the principles which today govern the policy of the State. Certain institutions were established but, with the exception of Newgate Prison, dating from the close of the period, they were local in their use.

During the ninety years following the Revolution, there was a real beginning of institutions serving the whole State. Until the close of this period the public institutions were of a general character and it was left to private

bodies to minister to special classes. The establishment by the State in 1866 of the first state hospital for the insane at Middletown, foreshadowed the development of the last half century, which has been a period of institutional specialization. The public has either taken over privately organized institutions for special classes or has started institutions of its own. There has been increased differentiation in the interests of greater efficiency. At the same time, the policy of subsidizing privately controlled institutions has been developed.

CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1634-1784

FROM the very beginning the colonists of Connecticut had to deal with three types of individuals who demanded special treatment; those who failed to support themselves, the indigents or the paupers; those who from disease of body or mind were unable to make a normal contribution to social life, the sick and the defective; and those who violated the law by invading the rights of person, property, or public security, the delinquent and the criminal.

I. THE INDIGENT AND THE PAUPER

From the earliest days the responsibility for dealing with the poor rested primarily with the town. As a result the first statements regarding poor relief are found in the town records. We here find the germ of three methods of relief which have continued to the present, namely, the support of the poor in the town almshouse, the partial relief of persons in their own homes, and the aiding of persons by the towns at the expense of the colony, later the State. Thus, in March, 1640 (1), Hartford set aside twenty acres east of the Connecticut River "for the accommodating of several poor men that the town shall think meet to accommodate there." In 1645 it was proposed in New Haven to provide for "Sister Lampson" so far as her husband was unable to do it. Twelve years later the New Haven Colony directed that Southold be allowed £5 towards the relief of poor persons who had come to that town from Long Island.

One of the main efforts of the early period was to prevent the entrance into towns of undesirable persons. As early as 1636 stringent laws began to be passed regulating the entertainment of strangers. The primary purpose was undoubtedly to keep out persons whose conduct or views did not agree with those of the ones in authority. To these laws were soon added real laws of settlement, regulating the admission of new inhabitants. These have been retained with many modifications until the present. Their main object has been to prevent the admission of persons likely to become public charges. Towns might warn strangers to depart and vagrants and suspects might be sent from constable to constable to the place from which they came unless they had a certificate permitting them to travel. Inhabitants of Connecticut towns might remove to other towns on the certificate plan and could not be removed unless they came to actual want.

Numerous preventive laws were early passed, requiring individuals to care for their poor relatives, authorizing the appointment of conservators for incompetent persons in order that their property might be used for their support, and preventing bastards or widows from becoming public charges.

An early instance of the attempt to force persons to support their relatives occurred in Hartford in 1651. The selectmen complained that John Lord had "withdrawn himself from his wife, and left her destitute of a bed to lodge on, and very bare in apparel, to the endangering of her health." The matter was reported to the General Court, which authorized the selectmen "to require of the said John Lord the wearing apparel of his wife, and also a bed for her to lodge on, and also to search after the same in any place within this jurisdiction, and to restore

it unto her." Beds were evidently not so common in those days if they were to search for one that had been removed from Hartford.

By 1650 constables were directed to report to the magistrates all cases of idleness and three classes specifically mentioned as deserving attention were "common coasters, unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco takers." In 1719 selectmen were given authority, in case they found persons "already reduced to want, or . . . likely to be reduced by idleness and bad husbandry unto want," to take care of such persons and their families, put them out to service, and see that their property was properly administered.

Two other classes of possible dependents against whom the Colony tried to provide were freed negro slaves and "Negro, malatto, or Spanish Indians . . . servants . . . for time" whose terms of service had expired. It was not unknown for owners of slaves whose strength had been exhausted to set them at liberty. A law of 1702 provided that such persons must be helped by the former masters or their estates or heirs. As masters did not do this, in 1711 the selectmen were ordered, in case of such default, to relieve such slaves or servants and recover the cost by action for debt.

By 1673 the towns were entrusted with the duty of giving poor relief and might determine the methods to be employed. Even the first poor law, that of 1673, simply ordered that every town should "maintain their own poor." The method authorized was that of relief by the selectmen or overseers of the poor, either alone or with the approval of the magistrates. Even then the danger involved in the giving of material relief seems to have been realized but no alternative method was specified. A law passed in 1711 to provide in case of sickness was note-

worthy because it initiated two other methods, namely, that of relief by one town either at the expense of another town, or at the expense of the Colony. As the purpose of this act was to prevent the spread of disease, persons could not be sent away, and hence the town where the sickness occurred was required to provide relief and care and the town of settlement was in turn, upon a judgment by the County Court, to meet the expense. In regard to persons without a settlement in Connecticut, the treasury of the Colony was responsible.

A law of 1750 legalized relief by the Colony through the towns of all persons in want for any cause. Even before that there had been a few instances in which the Colony had reimbursed either individuals or towns for the relief of poor persons. Occasionally paupers were sent back to England at colony expense. Appropriations were made for two such cases in October, 1770. The result in one case shows that the human nature of the pauper was then much what it has been since. A passage was procured for a "decrepit old seaman" but he had disappeared when the ship sailed. He reappeared and repeated his request, but when the time came for him to sail in January, "he absconded just as the ship was about to sail and signified by a letter that he declined to go in cold weather." Connecticut has never carried to its logical conclusion the principle of caring for unsettled persons at the expense of the Colony or State. That is, it has never cared directly for large numbers of state paupers in state almshouses.

Another very different method of meeting special needs was through collections taken in churches in response to appeals or "briefs," as they were called, by the ministers. By laws of 1681 and 1702 no brief could be read without

permission of the Governor and council except for persons belonging to the town in question. Thus early the Colony began the regulation of private philanthropy.

One class of the population for which Connecticut has always felt a special responsibility is the children. In 1673 selectmen were given authority to place out in good families where "they can be better brought up and provided for" the children of those having relief from the town who did "not employ their children as they ought, towards the getting of a lively hold," or of families "that cannot or do not provide competently for their children, whereby they are exposed to want and extremity." The law of 1702 made such action mandatory and the children were to be bound out until twenty-one, if a boy, or until eighteen or the previous marriage, if a girl.

This method of binding out was the only method of caring for such poor children during the Colonial period.

Early in the eighteenth century came the first great differentiation in the care of the indigent and the real beginning of institutional care. A law of 1713 distinguished between the true paupers and "idle persons, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," as a subsequent law described them. There had been such an increase in the latter class that it was provided that the county jails should be houses of correction, in which such persons should be kept at labor until the next meeting of the County Court. In 1727, provision was made for a colony workhouse for the confinement of four classes, namely, idlers and tramps, including fakirs, petty offenders, stubborn children, and the insane. It was expected that the inmates would support themselves. By 1730, this workhouse, fifty feet long, thirty-two feet wide, and fourteen feet "between joints," had been finished and the general

court ordered the transfer to it from the county jails of life prisoners. But the hope of making the workhouse self-supporting proved illusive for in 1734 the assembly appropriated £40 from the treasury of the Colony and £20 from that of Hartford County. Part was to be expended to secure a suitable master and the remainder for procuring suitable bedding and materials for setting the inmates to work. The master was to be allowed to keep one-third of the earnings without accounting for them. The purpose was "to encourage him to keep" the inmates "well applied to such labor as may be most to their and the public advantage." Even then things did not move smoothly and in 1737 the assembly appointed two overseers, who were to provide materials, see that the master did his duty, that the stores and earnings were not embezzled directly or through the master, and call the master to account under oath every three months. No idle or disorderly persons were to be discharged without the permission of the overseers. Either the assembly thought the problem of idleness would soon be solved or else they were unwilling to run the risk of continued expense and failure, for the law was to remain in force only four years, ending with the close of the October session in 1741. Evidently the results were unsatisfactory, for in 1742 the County Court was authorized to transfer all the inmates to the Hartford County jail, where, with one exception, they were to be treated according to the rules of the workhouse.

A few years later, the Colony decided to begin again, but on a county basis. The revision of 1750 directed each county to erect a house of correction, and, pending the completion of these, the jails were to be used as workhouses. Nothing was done. In order to overcome this

independence of the counties, in May, 1753, the County Courts were directed at once to erect houses of correction or repair any already existing, and report to the assembly. They were also to tax the counties and appoint the officers. This was too much and the following October it was provided that no County Court could act until a majority of the assistants and justices of the county had voted to erect a house of correction and selected a location.

II. THE SICK AND THE DEFECTIVE

In the Colonial days before hospitals were thought of all that the law did regarding the sick was to provide for their care by relatives, town, or colony. The law of 1711, already mentioned, placed upon the town in which the person became ill the obligation to provide care at the expense of the town of settlement or of the Colony. In 1750 this was expressly extended to cover all cases of sickness, whether of an infectious nature or not. The liability for the expense incurred rested primarily upon the parties themselves, their parents, masters, and other relations, "which by law are obliged to support them in case of need," and towns might recover from executors and heirs. When there was no reimbursement from such sources, the town of settlement or the Colony was liable.

The only allusion to the relief of the blind that I have discovered during the Colonial period was in 1731, when it was provided that a blind man, without a settlement in Connecticut, who was wandering from place to place, should be cared for in the workhouse and the expense of his support was to be met by the Colony.

The single case of insanity referred to before 1699 was that of a woman in New Haven. In 1645 the town

became liable for the expense of her care beyond what her husband could pay.

The first law regarding those mentally defective was passed in 1699 and was copied from a Massachusetts act of 1693. No distinction was made between the insane, the feeble-minded, and the idiotic. This law simply made the estate of the person liable for his support and placed the obligation of care upon the towns. The later laws for the care of the sick, already described, applied to the insane and defective. Such unfortunates might also be put out to suitable work or service at the discretion of the selectmen.

The most important step forward was the provision of the act of 1727, by which the workhouse was to be used for such insane as were unfit to go at large and whose friends did not care for them. This was a real advance for those days before there were any asylums.

A case in Wallingford in 1756 shows what otherwise might have been tolerated. The General Assembly of 1756 had to order Wallingford to care for an insane woman, without a settlement in Connecticut, who was permitted to wander about without clothing.

One special class of beneficiary from near the beginning was the soldier. The Colony had sent soldiers to King Philip's War and in May, 1676, the court ordered that all soldiers "wounded in the country service" should "have cure and diet on the country account, and half pay" until cured. Aid was also given by special private bills, granting land, exemption from taxation, paying for medical attendance and giving lump sums to soldiers and their relatives. With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War other measures were called for. These provided for

assistance for "sick and infirm" soldiers in the State, whether belonging to Connecticut or to other states.

III. THE DELINQUENT AND THE CRIMINAL

The Colonial experiment with the workhouse has already been described.

From the beginning the Colony had to provide for the punishment of evil-doers. It was not until shortly before the Revolution that there was a common prison. Up to that time the jail served every purpose. It was variously called a house of correction, a prison, or a jail.

In April, 1640, the Court of Election ordered the erection of a house of correction, for the reason, as the record states, that "many stubborn and refractory persons are often taken in these liberties, and no meet place is yet prepared for the detaining and keeping of such to their due and deserved punishment." The house was to be twenty-four feet long, sixteen or eighteen feet broad, with a cellar, either of wood or of stone. In 1649 the keeper, Will Rescew, was to be paid £10 a year from the treasury and this seems to have remained the salary for some years.

In May, 1667, the first step was taken towards having a jail in each county. The court ordered "the several counties speedily to provide and maintain in the county town of each county, a prison or house of correction." A bonus of £12 was offered each county for completing its jail before December 1, and for failure so to do, each county was to pay a fine of £20. But nothing happened and the Hartford jail, standing near the present site of the post office, continued to serve the entire Colony.

The jail population increased so rapidly that action in the interest of economy was taken in 1693. The law

provided that whenever a person was "imprisoned for misdemeanor, rates, debts, fines, or forfeitures, he or they that cause him to be imprisoned shall disburse from week to week or from time to time while such person or persons shall remain in prison, for his present maintenance, at least to find him bread and water, and if such will ad (*sic*) to his maintenance they may, and all such charge as shall arise thereupon shall be paid by the person before he be released from prison or security be given for the same." In other words, except for serious crime the Colony was to be relieved from the burden of supporting prisoners.

After thirty-four years, the assembly resumed its effort to secure a jail in each county. The assembly of October, 1701, ordered each county to erect and maintain a "sufficient" jail. Even then there was no speedy compliance, for it was not until 1726 that the justices ordered a jail built in Windham County. By the middle of the century the system of county jails was firmly established, each county having one at its head town, except that New London was to maintain two, one at New London and one at Norwich.

Prisoners were permitted to send for or provide for their own food and to use their own bedding. This is still the law, though now it is subject to the consent of the sheriff. Prisoners for debt were not to be lodged in the same room as felons.

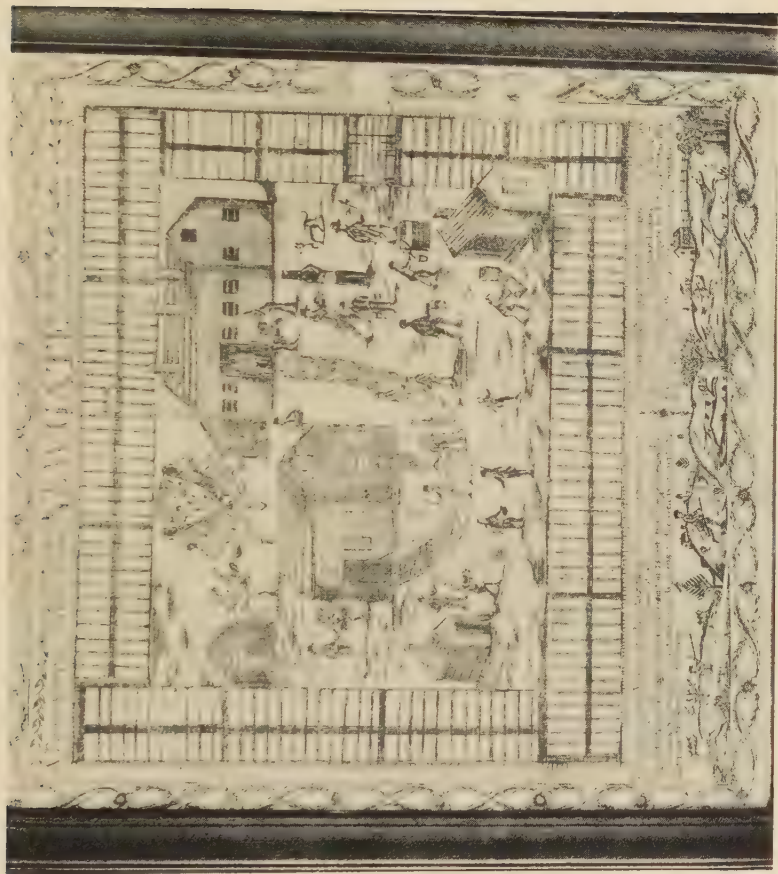
Just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Connecticut established the first real colony-wide institution, the first state prison, named Newgate from the historic prison in London.

Early in the eighteenth century a company had been formed in Simsbury to work the copper mines lying in

that portion of the town which in 1780 was incorporated as Granby. For some years considerable labor was spent in developing the mines, but, because of hampering British laws, which forbade smelting, the mines were never a great success and by 1773 little was being done.

At the May meeting of the General Assembly of 1773, a committee of three was appointed "to view and explore the copper mines at Symsbury, their situation, nature and circumstances, and to examine and consider, whether they may be beneficially applied to the purpose of confining, securing and profitably employing such criminals and delinquents as may be committed to them by any future law or laws of this Colony, in lieu of the infamous punishments in divers cases now appointed, and at what probable expense the said mines may be obtained for the purpose aforesaid."

The amazing thing about this vote is that it was proposed to use the mines in lieu of "infamous punishments." In other words, the prison, which later became a scandal, was instituted as a reform measure. What were the "infamous punishments" to abolish which it was proposed to condemn men to labor and live in the damp and dark caverns of the copper mines at Simsbury? Only four offenses were punishable by sentence to Newgate at the beginning, burglary, robbery in field or highway, forgery and counterfeiting of bills of credit or coins, and horse stealing. The punishment for these crimes prescribed by the laws then in force included branding on the forehead, whipping on the naked body, having an ear nailed to a post and cut off, and death. Well might the law makers consider confinement in a mine less infamous than these barbarous punishments that show the severity of life in those days.



OLD NEWGATE PRISON
From a curious contemporary copper-plate engraving.

The committee visited the mines and reported their findings. There was a shaft about twenty-five feet deep and three and a half feet in diameter, from the bottom of which were narrow passages about five feet in height. Another shaft further south was seventy feet deep, where there was a fine spring of water. This shaft furnished the ventilation for the other shaft, near the bottom of which it was proposed to blast a lodging room. "When completed," the committee added, "it will in our opinion be next to impossible for any person to escape." The assembly gave the same committee authority to agree with the owners or lessees of the mines to have them keep and employ in the mines criminals sentenced thereto or to purchase the lease and prepare the mines for use as a prison. Here is the germ of contract labor in Connecticut institutions. The committee reported October 18, that they had purchased the lease for £60, had built a lodging room fifteen by twelve about twenty-five feet below the surface and fixed an iron door six feet from the surface. The entire cost of preparing the mines "for a proper prison" was £111.1.6. The Colony agreed that the mines should be worked and that one-thirtieth of the product should go to the proprietors.

The assembly at once passed a law by which the caverns and buildings in the mines and on the surface were "constituted and made a publick gaol and workhouse for the use of this Colony . . . named New-Gate Prison." They appointed a master and three overseers. The master was to keep the prisoners at such labor as they were capable of, and might punish by use of fetters and shackles and by moderate whipping. The overseers were to provide food, clothing, tools, and implements, to care for the relief of sick and weak prisoners, and, if necessary, hire one

or more skillful miners to instruct and assist the prisoners. It was hoped that the entire expense would be met by the earnings of the prisoners, though the colony treasury was to make good any deficits. Two of the committee were appointed overseers and Captain John Viets, who lived near, master. At first there was no enclosure around the prison property and the master lived at home and took their meals to the prisoners at the appointed hours. His bill for 1774 was £29.5.10, which included his own services. There was at that time no guard during the day.

Newgate had a reputation for great security. It was considered the strongest prison in the United States. During the closing years of the war, some forty Tories were sent to Newgate by the Superior Court or courts-martial. The security of Newgate was far greater in reputation than in reality. The first prisoner was committed Dec. 2, 1773, but escaped after eighteen days, being drawn up through the deep east shaft. Three prisoners were received Feb. 26, 1774. One escaped April 9, with another committed four days before, and the other two got away April 23. After the first escape the assembly directed the overseers to secure the east shaft with stone and iron and to build a log block house of two or three rooms, "one of which to be directly over the west shaft of said prison; taking care to preserve a free communication of air." This must have been something of a task! The log house erected by the overseers was 36 x 20, with two rooms. The block house was burned in the spring of 1776 but no prisoner escaped. In 1777 the block house was again burned and the prisoners removed to the Hartford jail and apparently the prison was not used again until 1780. One entry in the records is suggestive of the conditions in the spring of 1779. The overseers

reported that they had got timber and other materials to repair the prison but that there was no money in the treasury to pay laborers except coins that would not circulate and that all the laboring part of the State was in husbandry. By November, 1780, the prison was completed and a military guard provided. The next year the assembly directed the erection of a picket fence with small bastions at the corners for defense. In spite of this, on May 28, 1781, the twenty-eight prisoners, most of them Tories, rose upon the guard, seized their arms and escaped, leaving the prison empty. The investigation revealed a lack of discipline on the part of the guard and a cowardice in the face of the prisoners that was amazing. On November 6, 1782, the prison buildings were once more destroyed by fire during which a sergeant of the guard opened the hatches and permitted as many of the prisoners as desired to do so to escape. The remaining prisoners were removed to the jail at Hartford. Thus ended the first chapter in the history of Newgate, from which, more than a half of all the prisoners committed to it had escaped.

What of the prison itself and its management? During 1775 there were nine convicts, all of whom were engaged in getting out copper under the direction of two miners. After the fire of 1777 no more mining was done and, when the prison was reopened in 1780, the inmates were engaged in mechanical operations above ground. Previously the food of the prisoners had been furnished by outside persons; after that date it was prepared in the prison itself. The quarters were not popular with the prisoners. One petitioner for pardon in 1776 speaks "of his sufferings in this dismal vault," while another calls himself "an unhappy prisoner confined in the doleful subterranean

caverns of the earth at Newgate, sentenced to these dreary abodes, to human nature more gloomy than the shades of the grave."

In the revision of the laws of 1784 the section dealing with Newgate was omitted and it was not until 1790 that there was again any provision for a state prison.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1784-1875

THE period of nearly a century from the close of the war for independence to 1875 was one of steady development. The first half witnessed the clarifying of the principles already adopted and the latter half the creation of institutions. The tendency was to put the responsibility upon the towns rather than to expand the activities of the State. Many private institutions were organized and subsidized by public funds and at the close the State recognized by the creation of the Board of Charities its responsibility for all those who were receiving institutional care.

I. THE INDIGENT AND THE PAUPER

Much attention was paid to the passing of laws to prevent pauperism. The laws regarding conservators and overseers were strengthened. An act was passed to establish the responsibility of divorced parents for their children.

Intemperance had been a fruitful source of poverty. At various periods between 1676 and 1872, there were laws to restrain the drinking of those who through intemperance were in danger of being reduced to want or were not caring for their families.

Such measures did not satisfy the people of fifty years ago and institutions, both public and private, were established. In 1868 charters were granted to two corporations for the care of drunkards, Turner's Dipsomaniae Retreat at Wilton, in Fairfield County, and the Connecticut Invalid Home. The latter numbered among its incorpo-

rators such distinguished leaders as Leonard Bacon and Noah Porter. These institutions could not meet the need. The result of two investigations was the incorporation in 1874 of the Connecticut Reformatory Home, later known as the Asylum at Walnut Hill, which was to have among its principal officers the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State. Commitments were made by the Probate Court. An habitual drunkard might be committed for a period of from four to twelve months and a dipsomaniac for three years. Asylums might receive one who personally applied.

The chief measures to protect the towns from being burdened with paupers who did not belong to them were still the laws of settlement. These were made somewhat more liberal. Three classes came to be recognized: (1) those without any settlement in the United States; (2) those with a settlement in the United States outside of Connecticut; (3) those with settlements in Connecticut. Members of the third class could remove to any town without danger of removal unless they failed to support themselves and their families, and, by remaining there for six years, paying their taxes, and supporting themselves and their families, gain a new settlement.

We noted that in 1784 the State was responsible to the towns for the support of persons not belonging within Connecticut. This would have led logically to the support of such by the State as state paupers; but, true to the principle of limiting the responsibility of the State as far as possible, five years later, in 1789, a law was passed by which the liability of the State for relieving strangers ceased after they had been in the town for three months, except in the case of a lingering illness which had begun within that time.

During the Colonial period the method of relief had not been prescribed and apparently it was usually rendered to persons in their own homes. In 1785, upon its request, Hartford was authorized "to build an almshouse in said town for the support of the poor of said town." The selectmen were appointed overseers.

A law of 1813 empowered the separate towns or any two or more towns by their agents to establish asylums or almshouses "for the admission of . . . town poor and destitute persons." By the revision of 1821, paupers might be removed to any place designated by the town or selectmen for their support and were subject to the orders of the selectmen or of the persons contracted with for their support. Thus there were three legal ways of relief, in a pauper's own home, in the almshouse or other place designated by the town, or by the contractor for the town poor. No limits were placed upon the authority of the town to make contracts and no security had to be taken to insure adequate provision for the paupers.

What use did the towns make of this provision for almshouses? Was the town system satisfactory? Several investigations were made during the period. A committee which reported in 1852 had secured returns from 133 of the towns. Of these, 37 towns, or 28 per cent, reported almshouses. Support in 86 was by contractors, in 46 by selectmen, and in 2 by both methods. The largest number supported by a contractor was in Windsor, 56. Nine towns with 30 or more paupers each used the contract system. Eight towns with almshouses had 50 or more paupers, New Haven leading with 539. The cost to the towns varied greatly. The committee recommended the substitution of a county system for the town system.

The report of the commission appointed in 1874 was

much less valuable, for returns were secured from only 87 towns, not including Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Norwich. The number of paupers had apparently increased 91 per cent, while the cost had increased 250 per cent. The cost of supporting paupers ranged from 75 cents a week in Hebron to \$3.50 to \$4.50 in Wallingford. The calculated average for the State was \$2.50 a week. The commission reported that in some adjoining states having the county system the paupers received better care at a cost ranging from \$1 to nothing a week. The commission urged the substitution of county almshouses, which they believed could be self-supporting like that at New Haven, which, with 150 inmates, had for several years supported itself and left a handsome balance. But the town system was too securely established to be overthrown.

At the close of the Colonial period the State had been liable for persons without a settlement in Connecticut. This was continued until 1820. The reason for a change then was apparently the belief that the towns were not playing fair, but were charging the State for unnecessary expenditures, and even for more than they had actually spent for such unsettled poor persons. So, in 1820, the liability of the State was strictly limited. In no case was the State liable for more than a dollar a week for each pauper over fourteen and fifty cents for each child under that age. Moreover, the comptroller was empowered to contract with any person or persons for not more than five years for the relief and support of the state paupers "on the best terms not exceeding the sums specified." The contractor was to give bonds that those in his care should "be treated with humanity and . . . have a competent supply of food, and decent and comfortable clothing, and

all necessary medical aid, and physick in time of sickness." The comptroller might at his discretion place with the contractor any or all of the state paupers supported by any town. Thus, began the system of caring for the state poor by contract with the lowest bidder, a system which continued for nearly a hundred years.

It will be recalled that the only special provision made during the Colonial period for indigent or pauper children who were not properly cared for was the authorization of their being placed in good families until they became of age. These laws were continued in force throughout the period ending in 1875 with the addition in 1864 of a provision for giving children in adoption. In 1850 it was provided that selectmen might bind children out to any charitable society "whose place of doing business" was in the town. This restriction was removed in 1868 and any incorporated society in Connecticut might be used. Selectmen might also contract to defray the expenses of a child in an institution at a cost not to exceed \$1.50 a week.

These additions to the law show that the day of institutional care for children had arrived. The first charitable institution to be incorporated was the Hartford Female Beneficent Society, chartered in 1813 and united in 1865 with the Hartford Orphan Asylum. It was managed by women and was for the care of girls who were suitable objects of charity, or were surrendered by parents or guardians. By 1830 the interest in youthful offenders and dependents became more general. The Governor took the matter up in his message to the Legislature, and women in Hartford and Fairfield Counties sought out delinquent children in the poorhouses and provided for them suitable care and instruction. In 1833 and 1834 four societies were incorporated. From that time on such institutions

multiplied, at least five more being added between 1839 and 1862. These were all privately managed, but at least two appropriations were made in 1856 to such institutions, the New Haven and Middletown Orphan Asylums.

One of the interesting events of the period in this connection was the incorporation in 1863 of the Hartford Home. While it lasted only about seven years, it was the first acknowledgment in Connecticut of the obligation of the public as such to care for needy children outside of workhouses, jails, reformatories, or almshouses. The prime mover in securing the charter was Nathaniel H. Morgan of Hartford, who had been impressed with the number of neglected children growing up in idleness and in danger of becoming criminals. The home was supported by the city, under trustees appointed by the police commissioners. During its brief existence it occupied a commodious house on Retreat Avenue. Its failure was due in part to the lack of farm or manual training, and to the size of the city, which had not enough boys of the semi-dependent class to feel the need of such a home. The city tired of the expense, the appropriations were cut off, and the property sold.

Towards the close of this period the Civil War produced a new type of dependent minors, soldiers' orphans. The State was very generous with the families and especially with the children of soldiers. Between 1862 and 1874 the amount expended was fully \$3,270,000, the average for the years 1863-65 being \$666,000 a year. In 1866 a general law was passed for the relief of the needy children of deceased soldiers and sailors, who were under the age of twelve, without other adequate means of support, not in almshouses, whose fathers had enlisted from the State and had died by reason of such service or

had been reported missing in action and had not been heard from. A state allowance was made for such children in the New Haven or Hartford Orphan Asylums or in Fitch's Home for Soldiers, or in the Connecticut Soldiers' Orphans' Home.

Two years before the passage of this general law, the Connecticut Soldiers' Orphans' Home had been incorporated. It was "to provide a home, support, and education for the orphan and destitute children of Connecticut soldiers, and other citizens of the State." The directors included the principal state officials. In 1866, when the home was opened in Mansfield, it was reported that there were more than 400 children, many of them soldiers' orphans in towns' almshouses. The new home, with state aid, continued until 1875, before which time it had cared for 149 children.

On the border line between the pauper and the criminal comes the vagrant, for whom the workhouse had been established during the Colonial period.

The history of the workhouse during the period ending in 1875 was checkered. It started as a county institution; towns began to be authorized to establish workhouses; and finally jails were made workhouses.

New Haven was the first town to receive authority to establish a workhouse. This was in 1785. Within the next thirty years similar provision was made for eight other town workhouses and for a union workhouse in Fairfield County. The Legislature of 1813 at the same session which authorized the erection of town almshouses enacted a law by which towns individually or jointly might build workhouses and the revision of 1821 substituted the word "town" for "county" in the sections regarding workhouses, for the reason, as the revisers added

in a note, that no county had a workhouse. Another instance of Connecticut independence! The expense of supporting the prisoners was to be borne by the town, which, it was hoped, would be reimbursed by the earnings of the prisoners. Males and females were to be confined separately and no liquors were to be sold to prisoners. By the revisions of 1821 and 1838 those sentenced to the workhouse included (1) beggars and vagrants, (2) those who failed to support their families, (3) fakirs, (4) prostitutes and drunkards. Stubborn and rebellious minors might be sentenced. The insane had been excluded in 1793. The revisers of 1821 were sanguine enough to believe that the discipline of the workhouse "would be more effectual to restrain the commission of crimes of an inferior degree, than any other punishment that can be devised." On the other hand, the preceding clause: "Should the regulations of this statute be carried into effect, in the several towns," indicates equally that they had little expectation that the towns would obey the law.

A law was passed in 1841 that any county jail erected on the plan of the Hartford jail was to be a workhouse and persons subject to confinement in a workhouse might be sent to the jail. This was evidence that the day of improved jail construction had arrived. In 1845 county commissioners were given authority to employ a chaplain or religious instructor for the workhouse.

II. THE SICK AND THE DEFECTIVE

The institutional trend for the care of the sick and defective was marked in the period from 1784 to 1875.

The first charter for a public hospital was granted in 1826 to the General Hospital Society of Connecticut to establish and maintain "a general hospital in the city of

New Haven." It was to be a charitable institution in which preference would be given to patients belonging to Connecticut. In 1854 the Hartford Hospital was incorporated, and 1871 and 1872 dispensaries in Hartford and New Haven respectively. More significant than the foundation of the hospitals was the grant of public funds to the aid of privately-managed institutions.

In 1854 an annual appropriation of \$2,000 was granted to the General Hospital Society for its hospital. It was to be expended for the support of charity patients so as to benefit the different towns as they made application. A similar appropriation was made to the Hartford Hospital from 1860. In 1855 the State had gone a step further by granting an appropriation to the Hartford Hospital for building purposes. This was for \$10,000 and was followed by two others amounting to \$40,000. Both were conditioned upon raising specified amounts from private sources. By 1875 the Legislature had given the New Haven Hospital \$70,000 and a homeopathic hospital \$10,000.

Soon after the beginning of the period action was taken to prevent the wandering of insane persons to the endangering of life and property. This law of 1793 imposed upon the selectmen of the town where an insane person was at large the duty of securing his confinement in a suitable place. If necessary, such persons might be committed to jail. The former provision by which such persons could be sent to the workhouse was repealed; in 1797 the jails were closed to them; and not for seventy years was there a public place in which insane persons, not criminals, might be confined.

A hint as to the methods of caring for the insane before the days of the modern asylum is found in a memorial

presented to the assembly in 1786, in which the petitioner, Mary Weed of Stratford, stated that her husband had for twenty years been so insane as to be kept chained.

What the public was not prepared to do, private philanthropy, and especially the medical profession, did. The medical society in 1821 investigated the number of insane in the State. Seventy towns reported 510 lunatics and idiots. The result was the granting of a charter to the Retreat for the Insane in Hartford. This was a private institution under state supervision. The Governor was to grant a brief for five years soliciting contributions, and he and two commissioners appointed by the General Assembly were to make occasional visits and superintend its general concerns. The Retreat was designed for paying patients but in 1830 the directors voted to admit for not more than six months a number of indigent lunatics, not exceeding ten, whose illness was not more than six months old, at a cost of two dollars a week.

It took thirty years of investigation and agitation to get the State to establish a public institution for the insane. A questionnaire sent out in 1837 led to the appointment by the assembly of a committee to study the subject. They found that in 118 out of 136 towns the number of insane and idiotic persons supported wholly by the towns was 321, partially supported by the towns, 145; and supported by charity, 241; a total of 707. They believed that the total for the State was not less than nine hundred, with sixty new cases each year, and that more than seventy were confined in cells or by chains. They recommended a state institution near the Retreat and under the same medical supervision. They also advocated the confinement of drunkards as well as the insane. The next year another committee favored a separate state hospital and in 1840

it was recommended that such hospital be erected at Middletown. The committee in making its report waxed eloquent:

The Christian and the philanthropist hail with rapture the discovery, (for so it may be termed), of that course of treatment and of management, which dispels the illusion and restores the deluded maniac to himself and the world. Public provision, however, is necessary, to afford facilities for applying efficiently this course of treatment, and placing the insane under its benign influence. Such we already have in this State, where those who are blessed with competence can avail themselves of its advantages. But to those who have been less favored of heaven, as far as wealth is concerned, its doors are effectually closed. . . . It is true that Connecticut is characterized for her seminaries of learning and benevolent institutions. Well may she point to her renowned colleges, her flourishing academies, her Deaf and Dumb Asylum, her Retreat, and her Penitentiary, and exultingly exclaim 'these are my jewels.' But this exultation can never be triumphant while our ears are saluted by the ravings of our penniless maniacs, chained to blocks or incarcerated in dungeons, admonishing us though we have done much, until they are suitably provided for, *the work is not complete.*

But this enthusiasm was ill-timed for nothing was done but to direct the selectmen to transmit to the Secretary of State a classified and descriptive list of the insane and idiotic in their towns, and state how many the towns would probably support in a separate institution for \$2.50 a week. The officers of the Retreat had offered to care for the indigent insane for not more than \$2.50 a week, which, they stated, would be less than the cost in a separate asylum. In 1842 the Governor was authorized to contract with the Retreat for such number of the insane poor as he thought best and as could be accommodated, at a cost of not more than \$2,000 a year. The expense gradually increased until in 1868 the appropriation was \$20,000. The State also spent \$19,000 for the erection of

buildings. In 1845 selectmen were authorized to make contracts with the Retreat. In 1855 the State began to help the towns care for their insane poor who were dangerous and without relatives liable for their support.

These measures proved unsatisfactory. In 1866 it appeared that less than one-third of the insane were in the Retreat and that five hundred were without proper care, many of them in almshouses. Hence, in that year an act was passed creating The General Hospital for the Insane of the State of Connecticut, changed in 1874 to The Connecticut Hospital for the Insane. It was to be located at Middletown. The male ward was opened in April, 1868, followed a little later by the female. The State had spent over half a million but even so the plant was too small. In 1870 the Legislature authorized the expenditure of \$15,000 for the care of insane patients in any asylum in New England, and as late as 1874 the Retreat and other private institutions were paid more than \$5,000 for their care of indigent insane. The average number of inmates at Middletown during the year 1874 was 339.51. Of those admitted that year 212 were beneficiaries of the State.

The care of insane criminals went through many changes. The law of 1793 had provided for the confinement in jails of those acquitted of murder or homicide (later manslaughter), on the sole ground of insanity, to be held during the continuance of the insanity, unless some one gave bonds to confine them in accordance with the direction of the court. In 1856 the law was amended to read, "the county jail, or some other suitable place," This continued until 1865. For two years, 1858-60, there was an insane department at the state prison at Wethersfield, but this proved unsatisfactory and was given up. With the erection of the state hospital, a department for

insane criminals was provided, which cared for those who became insane after conviction as well as for those acquitted on the ground of insanity.

It was not until 1850 that the problem of idiocy as distinguished from insanity attracted attention. The United States census of that year reported 287 idiots in Connecticut. Five years later it was estimated that there were probably 500, while a commission which reported in 1856 concluded that the number was over 1,000. Thanks to the laws of settlement, the State was manufacturing idiots. The authorities of a town having a pauper female idiot hired an idiot belonging to another town to marry her, with the result that the town of the male had to support the pair and three idiot children. Two or three towns had families with all the members idiots. Small towns were paying \$750 a year for idiot paupers. The commission recommended the establishment of a private, state-aided institution to accommodate one hundred pupils. The proposal was turned down by the casting vote of the president of the Senate after an appropriation of \$20,000, conditioned upon raising \$15,000, had been voted by the House.

At this point Dr. Henry M. Knight, a member of the commission, proved his sincerity by starting in Lakeville in 1859 a school for imbeciles. In 1860 the Governor was authorized to spend not more than \$1,500 for the support of indigent idiotic children in Dr. Knight's school. The appropriation increased until it reached \$7,000 a year in 1873, with a limit of \$125 a year for each pupil. The Legislature also made special grants.

Connecticut was the pioneer in the instruction of the deaf. Dr. Mason F. Cogswell, whose daughter became totally deaf in 1807 from an attack of spotted fever,

wished to have her educated. His friends contributed funds. Rev. Thomas Gallaudet was sent abroad and studied for a year in Paris. He brought back with him one of the instructors, and the "Connecticut Association for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons" was incorporated in 1816. The Legislature appropriated \$5,000 in addition to private gifts, and the school was opened in April, 1817. Congress made an appropriation and this fact, coupled with the expectation that it was to be national in its scope, led to the change of its name to the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, more recently changed to the American School for the Deaf. In 1821 the buildings on Asylum Avenue, Hartford, were occupied and these remained the home of the school for more than a century.

Eight years later the State took official cognizance, not only of the deaf and dumb, but also the blind. By an act of 1829, selectmen were required to report to the Governor before January 15 each year, "the number of deaf and dumb persons and blind persons within their respective towns." Growing out of the needs of these groups, which called for special attention, was the institution of another typical Connecticut method; namely, the placing in the hands of the Governor, as commissioner, of a lump sum to be used by him for the education and care in private institutions of such defective persons as he should select. The use of this method later in the case of idiotic children has already been mentioned. Thus, in 1837, the Governor was appointed a commissioner for the education of the deaf and dumb and he was directed to select upon examination and evidence deaf and dumb persons, whose parents could not contribute to their education at the deaf and dumb asylum at Hartford. He might

contract for their education for not more than five years. Similarly, the mute children of four persons named were sent to the Clark Institute at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1871, while in 1874 it was provided that deaf mutes who had lived in the State for five years might be sent to the Whipple Home School at Groton on the same terms as to the Hartford School.

Similar provision was made for the blind. The appointment of the Governor as commissioner for the education of the blind was made in 1838. The beneficiaries were to be educated in the New England Institution for the Blind, in Boston. Occasionally special acts were passed authorizing the Governor to educate designated individuals in other schools.

III. THE DELINQUENT AND THE CRIMINAL

The outstanding features of this period in the treatment of criminals and delinquents was the starting of two reformatory institutions for boys and girls and the establishment of a new state prison.

Up to 1854 there was no better place than jails for boys who had taken the first steps in crime or were in danger of becoming vicious. In fact, boys were even sentenced to prison. In 1834 the chaplain at Wethersfield reported that a boy of eleven had been committed to the prison and he asked if the Legislature would not do well to make other provision for such. Public opinion increased in volume until in 1850 a petition was presented to the General Assembly asking for the establishment of a house of reformation for juvenile offenders. A joint special committee was appointed. The committee thereupon recommended the establishment of a reform school. In 1852 a site of thirty-one acres was purchased in Meriden. The

State Reform School was opened there March 1, 1854. Its government was vested in a board of trustees, one from each county.

The original law provided that any boy under sixteen, convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment, not for life, might be committed to the reform school or to the punishment otherwise provided. The sentence was to be for not longer than during minority or less than ninety days. Two years later the commitment of persons less than ten was forbidden and the minimum was raised to nine months.

It was discovered that of the first 150 boys sentenced from 32 towns, 41 were committed for vagrancy and 35 for stubbornness, and 64 had been previously arrested or been in places of detention. As a result, in 1855 stubborn children, refractory apprentices, and vagrants were excluded from the school. These had now to be sent back to the jail from the contaminating influence of which the more serious offenders were to be saved!

The original law placed the entire cost of support upon the State. When, in 1857, it was learned that the school was costing nine times as much as the state paupers and taking more than one-third of the appropriations for benevolent purposes, the assembly became frightened and placed the support of the boys upon the towns or cities from which they were committed. Then the desire for economy struck the towns and the number in the school fell off from 139 in 1855, to 81 in 1860. Under this law a boy convicted of petty larceny was sent to jail for fourteen days because the selectmen refused to have the boy sent to the school at the expense of the town. His bills in jail were paid by the State. The result of such cases was

that in 1860 the State reassumed the financial responsibility.

This was one of the pioneer reform schools of the United States. So far as known, there were but three or four similar schools before 1850. Even this reform school was regarded chiefly as a place of punishment. This was the impression given by its first building, with its grated windows and cell-like rooms, in which the boys were locked at night. It was not until later that the school became more reformatory and less penal, more of a school and less of a place of confinement.

It was not until 1870 that similar provision was made for girls. A commission appointed in 1866 as to the desirability of establishing a state institution for abandoned young women and a reform or industrial school for unfortunate, vicious, and vagrant girls, had reported against the former but in favor of the latter. They stated that there were in Hartford and New Haven alone no fewer than 150 such girls. As the Legislature failed to act, private individuals secured pledges and in 1868 a charter. The Industrial School for Girls was opened two years later at Middletown upon land purchased for the school by the town. While the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State were to be directors, it was a private institution.

The school was authorized to receive girls between eight and fifteen who had been convicted of petty offenses or who came under the classes of neglected and stubborn children of truants, and who were "leading an idle, vagrant, or vicious life," or were "in manifest danger of falling into habits of vice." They might be committed until eighteen unless sooner discharged. The form of committal was civil, not criminal.

The necessary expenses, not exceeding three dollars a week, were to be paid by the State. This was less of a penal institution than the boys' school, for it received idle persons and vagrants, expressly excluded from the school at Meriden.

The county jails remained throughout this period the chief places for the confinement of criminals.

A few significant changes were made during the period. One removed from the jails prisoners for debt. The confinement of this class of prisoners in jails went back to the earliest period. The debts were often very small. Thus in 1830 a Hartford man was imprisoned from January to September, although the debt was for only \$2.31. A Simsbury man was imprisoned for a debt of seventy-five cents, and a Windsor man was held thirty-eight days for one of thirty-five cents.

In 1841 the responsibility for the care of the jails was placed in the hands of county commissioners appointed by the General Assembly.

By an act of 1837, the counties were permitted to require all prisoners after conviction to be set at work, according to their strength and ability. The deputy jailer was to be in charge of the labor. He was to provide food, clothing, when necessary, relief for sick or weak prisoners, and tools, implements, and materials, and act as purchasing and sales agent for the jail.

In 1845 authority was given to county commissioners to employ a chaplain or religious instructor for the jail and pay him out of the net earnings.

With the provision of work it became possible for prisoners, held for fine and costs only, to pay these off by their labor.

During this period we begin to get side-lights upon the

jail system. It was evidently believed that it was to the pecuniary advantage of a town to have a jail. The first law permitting the creation of Tolland County provided that the act should not take effect until there had been erected in the town of Tolland a "proper and suitable courthouse and gaol . . . by voluntary subscription, or otherwise, without taxing said county."

Curiously enough jail keepers apparently were accustomed to be at the same time tavern keepers. An act of 1812 authorized the granting of a license as tavern-keeper to the keeper of a jail residing in a house belonging to the county. He might also be licensed to sell liquor, and the prisoners might become his customers. But twenty-five years later, it was forbidden to sell or furnish or allow to be drunk in jail or prison any spirituous liquors except as prescribed by a physician in case of sickness. After January 1, 1845, the jailers went out of the liquor business.

As the expenses of those in custody for matters of a criminal nature were chargeable to the State, there was no great incentive on the part of the jailer to economy. The State had to limit its liability. In 1836 the State placed its limit at two dollars a week plus a reasonable amount for medical attendance in case of illness. This was later increased.

Many laws were passed to insure the proper care of those confined in jail. The revision of 1849 ordered the provision by the county of suitable bedding for all persons closely confined and where there were not more than three persons in confinement at once, fuel. How fuel was to be provided for a larger number of prisoners is not clear. Food, clothing, and medical relief were also to be provided. By 1863 the county commissioners were required to supply enough coal or other fuel "for the necessary

comfort of the prisoners that may be confined therein," and if they failed to do so, the sheriff was to secure the fuel.

At the close of the period two investigations of the jails were made, one by a committee of the Legislature in 1865, and the other a little later by the surgeon-general under direction of Governor Jewell.

Of the jails maintained in 1865, five of them were leased to the jailer, who had the allowance from the State and the labor of the prisoners. The jailer at Danbury used his dwelling as a public house. In these cases the jailer met the costs of food, washing, fuel, and lights, while the cost of clothing and other expenses was paid by the county or State. Three of the jails were badly located. Windham County employed its prisoners out of doors, while others used them in such work as picking curled hair and seating chairs.

Three of the jails were conspicuously good. Windham County jail was so well managed, with reasonable salaries to the officials, that it met the ordinary and some of the extra expenses of the county. The New Haven jail paid for itself and the ordinary expenses of the county, and while the allowance for prisoners was only \$2.50 a week, there was a balance on hand of more than \$2,500.

The commission condemned the farming out of the jails and prisoners and recommended the greater use of outdoor work and more profitable kinds of labor.

The investigation made by the surgeon-general concerned itself with the sanitary and moral conditions of the jails. The cells were usually eight feet by four and one-half or four and three quarters and eight feet high. In five the ventilation was at least fair and in only one was it pronounced very good. Six had good heating arrange-

ments. Only two had any bath tubs, two used a sink with pump, and two had pails of water for washing purposes. Six had privies with covered night buckets, two covered night buckets only, and one, night bucket without covers. This last was Litchfield.

In five, religious services were held but, except for a Bible class at New Haven, there was no provision for any instruction of any sort.

It will be recalled that at the close of the Colonial period there was no state prison. The buildings at Newgate had been burned and the prisoners removed to the jails.

The second chapter in the checkered history of Newgate began in 1790 and lasted for thirty-seven years. In that year a law was passed constituting "the cavern in the Copper Mines in Granby" a public jail and workhouse called New-Gate Prison. It was ordered that there be erected over the cavern a prison house to serve as hospital, as well as a dwelling house for the keeper, and that this be "enclosed with a piquet, so extensive, as that there may be built therein proper buildings or apartments for the prisoners to labor in." The offenses for which persons might be sentenced were limited to burglary, robbery, counterfeiting, and the term of imprisonment varied from three years to life. Additional offenses were added later.

What sort of prison was Newgate? The only way of getting into the caverns was by a ladder which led down through the solid rock from the basement of the keeper's house. This was constructed of massive stone walls. There was a strong trap door over the shaft and between the basement and the guard room above. The prisoners as a rule lodged in the caverns. They came up at day-break, three at a time, and remained in the workshop

until four. In the early days men mined copper but it was found that the tools used for this purpose were also adapted to digging out, and the making of nails was substituted. Nearly all the prisoners wore fetters riveted to their ankles, and when at work were chained to their blocks. Some of the most desperate were secured by an extra chain leading from a band around the neck to a beam above. The prisoners were permitted to swap rations, exchange commodities, buy and sell articles at their pleasure, and even procure hard cider, though three pints of cider were included in their daily rations. Their beds in the caverns were on a wooden floor three feet above the ground, and the berths were supplied with blankets and, when requested, with straw. After 1824 the caverns were used only for punishment.

In 1802 a stone wall, twelve feet high, was built around the premises. In spite of these precautions and an increased guard, there were a few escapes and several rebellions between 1794 and 1822.

From 1805 on, additions were made to the prison plant. These included various shops, a building with cells downstairs and a chapel upstairs.

Thereafter, weekly services were usually held on Sunday. In the earlier days, by an arrangement with the church in East Granby, there had been services in the nail shop, the most refractory prisoners being chained to their nail blocks. The elevated platform was used as a pulpit and the choir was composed of neighbors. There was never any Sunday School or library. Gradually the use of irons, except for misconduct or for the most daring, was given up and prisoners were not chained to their work. Prisoners were placed at the trade to which they were accustomed and if they had none, they were used

as waiters or common laborers, or sent to the tread mill, to which also the most refractory were assigned. This last was in a stone building erected in 1824, in which there were also apartments for female convicts. The tread mill was designed to be used for grinding grain. It was between twenty and thirty feet long and was furnished with horizontal flanges as steps upon which the prisoners trod and thus revolved the wheel. It was soon given up both because it did not pay and because it was regarded as too exhausting.

The comments upon it made by the committee of the Legislature in 1825 are suggestive of the attitude of the people of that day. They stated that thirty to thirty-three worked it at a time, two-thirds at once for ten or eleven minutes, with the other third resting for five or six minutes. They admitted it was capable of abuse but believed that, if used with discretion and care, it would be salutary and useful, that the labor was not more severe than many were accustomed to, that it was not injurious to health, and that thus inexperienced labor that would spoil stock could be utilized. Then the committee went on: "As a mode of punishment, it is further recommended from the fact that it is peculiarly irksome; requiring a severe exertion of the body, but furnishing no employment to the mind. The convicts do not perceive the progress of the labor; of course, no interest is excited; the attention is not arrested; there is no mental occupation or engagedness, which can at all alleviate the tedium and dullness of the task."

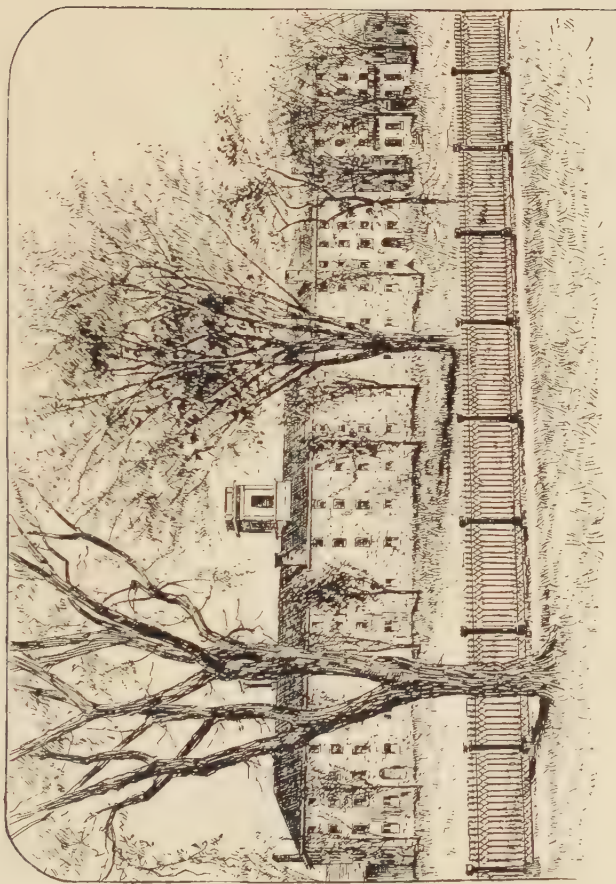
By 1825, the opinion of the State regarding Newgate had crystallized. When the State ceased to work the mines, the chief reason for the location of the prison there had gone. The committee of the Legislature found

that the buildings were not related to one another, that they were insecure, that there was not land enough to accommodate the prisoners, that no classification was possible, that the cells were schools of vice. The annual cost to the State since 1819 had been nearly \$7,600 a year and for the seven years preceding, more than \$9,000.

The success of Auburn prison and the agitation for a more humane and reforming policy towards prisoners had increased the dissatisfaction with Newgate and the possibility of making a new prison both helpful and self-supporting led the State to abandon the old. This was done in October 1827, and the buildings and some five acres of land were sold in 1830 for \$1,200.

For nearly a hundred years now Connecticut has used as a prison the institution in Wethersfield which by an act of 1827 was constituted "a Public Gaol, Prison and Workhouse . . . by the name of The Connecticut State Prison."

In 1826 a committee of three had been appointed commissioners to purchase land and erect buildings. The total appropriation for land, buildings, and wall was \$30,000. Some sixteen acres were secured and a building erected, one hundred seventy-seven by forty-eight feet. The west end was a building like that at Auburn, and contained one hundred and thirty-six night rooms. Each cell was seven by three and a half by seven feet with ventilating flue in the center wall to the roof. The doors were of oak, three inches thick, with a grating eighteen by fourteen inches. The prison began operations October 1, 1827, with Moses C. Pillsbury, formerly warden of the New Hampshire state prison, in charge. The original law authorized the warden to employ not more than ten assistants and guards, half the number used at Newgate,



CONNECTICUT STATE PRISON, WETHERSFIELD.

Built 1828 and since greatly enlarged. The buildings occupy the site of the homestead of Governor Thomas Welles, First treasurer and Fourth Governor of the Colony.
From Trumbull's Memorial History of Hartford County.

and an overseer for each department of business. The warden was also the agent of the prison as to purchases and sales and was to "conduct the business of said Prison on cash estimates only, and not in the form of barter."

What sort of prison had Connecticut secured as a substitute for Newgate? What were the principles of its management, and what the results, financial and moral?

All communication between prisoners, night or day, directly or indirectly, was prohibited. Thus it was believed, no convict would be debased by contact with experienced felons. Watchmen and overseers were forbidden to talk to prisoners except to direct them as to their labor. No prisoner was allowed to have any money or to procure food from outside. Meals were eaten in the cells. No ardent spirits were permitted in or about the prison except by the physician's orders, and this rule applied to the employees. Religious services were conducted morning and evening and on Sunday by clergymen and the warden. A Bible was placed in each cell. During the early months no corporal punishment was inflicted and the officers were not allowed to strike a man except in self-defense. It was not long before the wearing of irons, brought from Newgate, ended. The warden was using every endeavor to reclaim the men and restore them to society. These were statements in the first report of the directors, who summed up the principles as follows: "It has been our earnest endeavor . . . to substitute in the treatment of these men, so far as it should be practicable, the law of kindness, for that of severity. An exact and rigid discipline has been established, to which all have been compelled to submit—and to which all have submitted with a promptness and readiness, which is as gratifying as it was unexpected." During the first six

months the prison earned \$1,017.16 more than the cost of maintenance and during the first nine and a half years, the profits were more than \$50,000. This sum exceeded the entire cost of the plant at that time. After December, 1830, there was a properly constructed women's department, with matron and assistant, and the women were put under the same discipline as the men. In 1831 there was appointed a chaplain, who gave full time to the prison. He organized a Sunday School and tried to work with the individual prisoners in their cells.

One choice bit of literature has come down which shows the interest taken by the people in the welfare of the prison. This is a hymn written for the women prisoners to sing before evening prayer. It gave a comforting message, as witness the following stanza:

The way of wickedness is hard ;
Its bitter fruits we know ;
Shame in this world is its reward,
And in the future wo.

Miss Sigourney, the poetess, wrote a poem upon the prison.

In 1847 the Legislature authorized the expenditure, out of the surplus earnings of the prison, of \$100 for the purchase of books for the use of prisoners. The preamble of the act declared that "one of the great objects of human punishment" was "the reformation of the offender;" that "any method consistent with the safety and good government of the prison" should be used for the "intellectual and moral improvement of convicts;" and that there could be no more effectual way of discharging this duty than by the use of proper libraries. Further appropriations were made from time to time and in 1868 this was made an annual appropriation of \$200.

Various industries were carried on. The contract system of labor at Wethersfield began very early. The report of 1831 states that with the suspension of the nail department, the men were transferred to the blacksmith's shop and were there making shovels under contract, and the next year it was reported that some of the women prisoners were let out on contract to make cigars at twelve and a half cents a day.

Although Wethersfield was at first regarded as the best prison in the country and even in 1844 the New York commissioners called it the pattern prison of the Auburn type, things did not move smoothly. The warden, deputy, shop overseers, and contractors were at times nearly related.

Lack of heat and ventilation, and improper food, caused illness and death. The prison got into politics, so that wardens were removed for political reasons.

Another controversy centered around prison labor. Petitions were sent to the Legislature claiming that teaching trades to convicts disparaged those trades, that the discharged convicts consorted with those of like trades and corrupted them, and that prison labor tended to depress prices. In 1841-42 a committee recommended that, with the exception of shoe making, the prisoners should make articles that were chiefly imported, or manufactured for consumption by the prison and state institutions, or that they be employed in trades in which they were already trained. The committee further recommended the abolition of contract labor, by which convicts were forced to labor for contractors for so much per hour. But, the committee held, contracts for the sale of articles made in prison on state account would be wise. In March, 1842, about a hundred convicts were employed by con-

tractors for wages ranging from thirty-five to forty-five cents a day, in four trades, while about the same number were working on state account. These investigations had little result, as the contract system was retained, though the trades were changed from time to time, chiefly as the contractors demanded.

By a law of 1863 the warden might, with the consent of the directors, put the prisoners at work within a circuit of a mile and a half of the prison, under the direction of an officer of the prison. This was the result of a report that prisoners might have been employed in building a horse railway then under construction.

The prison buildings very soon proved inadequate. As early as 1830 two prisoners had to be put in a single cell. In spite of enlargements, additions, and improvements, such as the introduction of Hartford water and better lighting in the halls, things became so bad that in 1871, a thorough investigation was made. The buildings were declared inadequate. The cells were without light or ventilation. The quarters for the warden and officers were disgraceful, the chapel most uninviting. The surgeon-general reported that until recently the body linen and sheets had been changed but once in six weeks, the pillow sacks were never renewed or replaced until worn out, unless the prisoner requested a change, that until recently baths were administered but rarely and on special request, that requests for baths were discouraged, with the result that not long before there had been men whose feet had not been washed for six months or bodies for a year. He recommended frequent bathing, the renewal of the straw and the washing of sacks several times a year, the furnishing of clean pillow cases once a fortnight, and provision for outdoor exercise. The commission recom-

mended an appropriation for improvements but held that any large expenditure would be a waste of money and that new buildings should be erected. This was done later.

One or two matters call for passing notice. The committee which investigated the prison in 1841-42 recommended that there should be group instruction, once in two weeks or oftener, especially for the benefit of the younger prisoners. They stated that the Sunday School had been suspended for several years from lack of teachers. By the close of the period the Sunday School had been revived, the international question book had been adopted, and some of the worthy inmates were used as teachers. At the same time evening classes were instituted with an attendance of fifty-six.

By a law of 1862 the warden was required to keep a record of the punishment inflicted upon each convict, the mode and degree. Ten years later the directors abolished corporal punishment with good results. This same law of 1862 provided, upon the basis of a record of the conduct of each prisoner, for the reduction of the term of the sentence.

While the 1872 report of the commission that favored a new prison was not at once carried out, one of its recommendations was in part acted upon promptly. This was for the establishment of a state board of charities. This was constituted in 1873 with five members, three men and two women, appointed by the Governor. It was given authority to visit and inspect all institutions, both public and private, in which persons were detained by compulsion for penal, reformatory, sanitary, or humanitarian purposes; to ascertain whether they were properly treated or were improperly held. They had power to examine witnesses, send for persons and papers, and correct abuses. They

were to visit institutions frequently and the prison, reformatory schools, and insane asylums as often as once a month and preferably by one man and one woman and without previous notice. They alone were to have "the right of authoritative supervision" of "the physical and moral welfare and personal rights of the inmates of such institutions." Not until later did the board become truly efficient, but its creation was one of the most important steps taken during the period ending in 1875.

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF INSTITUTIONAL SPECIALIZATION, 1875-1924

DURING the last half century the institutional development, which was already under way by 1875, has made rapid progress, especially in the direction of specialized institutions for different classes of children and adults. While the State had heretofore been slow in establishing institutions of its own and had often preferred to subsidize those under private management, within recent years the State has taken over a few of these and has created new institutions. At the same time it has continued its policy of giving subsidies to worthy hospitals and schools. It has also begun the contrary course, and is trying the experiment of helping a few special classes in their own homes, in spite of the difficulties and dangers involved. It has greatly centralized state control by the creation, under the state treasurer, of a department of state agencies and institutions.

One of the most important acts of the preceding period was the creation in 1873 of the state board of charities. The law was recast in 1884 and remained in force with slight changes until 1921. Under the law of 1884, the board of charities became one of the most effective agencies for securing the proper treatment of the inmates of Connecticut institutions. It was authorized to inspect almshouses, homes for neglected or dependent children, asylums, hospitals, and all institutions for the care and support of the dependent or criminal classes; and it was required to inspect all institutions in which persons were detained by compulsion, in order to make sure that they

were properly treated, and, except in cases of detention by legal process, justly or properly held. It could correct abuses by orders from which there was an appeal to the Governor.

In 1921 this useful board was renamed the department of public welfare. This contains two bureaus; that of adult welfare and that of child welfare. The bureau of adult welfare performs the functions of the former board, except as otherwise provided, and its secretary has the duties of the secretary of the old state board of charities. The bureau of child welfare is under an expert of experience in caring for dependent or neglected children. This bureau has general supervision over the welfare of all children who require the care, protection, or discipline of the State.

I. THE INDIGENT AND THE PAUPER

The main measures for the prevention of pauperism have remained unchanged since 1875. Conservators and overseers may still be appointed to prevent the wasting of property by those not competent of caring for their own affairs.

One important change has been made regarding the liability of relatives. For years a husband had been liable for the support of his wife, and, in case of his death, his estate or his legatees became liable. Now the wife and her estate and legatees have the same responsibility for the husband or widower.

It will be recalled that during the last period provision was made for the commitment to private institutions of those who were in danger of coming to want through drunkenness. In 1915 the State itself acted in the matter and established at the Norwich State Hospital a depart-

ment for the detention, treatment, and care of male inebriates. It is known as the State Farm for Inebriates. Inebriates are defined as "all male habitual drunkards or dipsomaniacs who have lost the power of self-control by the intemperate use of stimulants or narcotics." The commitment is for not less than six months or more than three years, and the trustees may parole any inmate for the remainder of his term and revoke the same. The inmates contribute to their support by their work on the farm, but their estates or the persons or the towns applying for their commitment are liable to an amount not exceeding \$3.50 a week for support. Transfers to a jail or to the insane department were authorized. By a law of 1917, a drug addict may be committed to the Norwich Hospital, to remain until cured. If he is suffering from an incurable disease which requires the administration of any narcotic drug, he may be discharged with a certificate authorizing him, under strict regulation, to procure the needed drug.

The laws of settlement remain the chief basis upon which the responsibility for the care of paupers is determined. An attempt was made in 1875 to simplify the whole matter of settlement. A self-supporting residence of four years, or five years in case of one not a citizen of the United States, gave a settlement. The old laws were all repealed, but such is the conservatism of the small towns that in 1879 the new law was repealed and most of the old ones reenacted. Today a person who is not an inhabitant of some state of the United States cannot gain a settlement in Connecticut except by vote of the inhabitants or of the justices and selectmen. The provisions regarding those from other parts of the United States were liberalized in 1921. By a continuous residence

of four years, during which time neither state nor town had been put to expense for the support of the individual or his family, such persons gain a settlement as do inhabitants of Connecticut who remove from one town to another.

At the beginning of the period there were three ways in which towns could support their paupers: by relief in the paupers, own homes, by care in almshouses owned by the town, or by contract. No town can remove a pauper for support elsewhere except to an adjoining town within which it helps to maintain a joint almshouse. This restriction has often been violated. Thus, in 1904, no fewer than twelve towns were supporting inmates in the rather notorious private institution in Tariffville, popularly but mistakenly known as the "state almshouse."

The possibilities of evil incident to the care of paupers by contract, either for a lump sum or for so much per capita, should have been apparent, but it was not until 1886 that such contracts were forbidden. One can hardly realize the situation that existed in 1883, when the state board of charities reported that three-fourths of the towns farmed out their poor to the lowest bidder. The first restriction had been placed upon this system in 1879. This merely laid down three conditions: That the contract must "insure good and sufficient food, clothing, comfortable lodgings, and suitable care and medical attendance in sickness;" that the money expended should be used "faithfully and judiciously;" and that no contract should be made for a sum "less than that sufficient to insure the comfortable support of such paupers." But even this mild provision was repealed in 1883. In 1886 twenty-four towns paid the keepers of privately-owned almshouses a lump sum for the care of all paupers and at least seven

owning almshouses contracted with the keeper for a gross or weekly sum per head. Such facts as these led to the prohibition of such contracts after January 1, 1887.

The system of town almshouses cannot be either economical or efficient. A town with but few paupers can hardly afford to maintain them in an almshouse with a paid keeper, and no proper classification is possible. Thus, in June, 1923, 14 town almshouses had not more than 5 inmates each; 63 towns were supporting not more than 5 paupers in asylums, hospitals, and homes; and 34 not more than 5 outside of any institutions. In 1922, the towns without almshouses numbered 105, as against 64 with such institutions. Of these 64, four were privately owned and managed with the paupers as boarders at town expense. One other was leased by the town to a tenant who cared for a few paupers, though the town authorities had agreed not to maintain it as an almshouse. Of the 64 almshouses, 33 were pronounced good, while 31 could be called only fair or poor. One almshouse was self-supporting.

A county system has been advocated but never adopted. One serious objection has been that while it would be more economical in management and permit of proper classification and treatment, it would render valueless most of the almshouse property of the towns. It would also mean the abandonment of the town system and remove paupers from their homes. A compromise district system was worked out in 1887, which would have divided the State into 33 districts, eight of them comprising but a single town, and would have utilized most of the suitable almshouse property then in use. But nothing came of it.

This same proposal provided that while temporary relief might be given to people residing in towns and the

sick, insane, or idiotic might be cared for in hospitals, all paupers must be supported in an almshouse. This was a body blow at the system of the so-called out-door relief, by which persons are given doles of money or goods to enable them to exist outside the almshouse. The town of Windham had recently had an enlightening experience. In 1884, the town began to send all new applicants for aid, and many old ones, to the almshouse. Whereupon they decided that they could support themselves. Between 1883 and 1887, the number of outside poor decreased 45 per cent and the expense 67 per cent. This saving of \$5,474.42 was offset by an increase of only \$680.71 in the cost of the almshouse. The number of inmates had increased by eight, while the number of out-door poor had decreased by 181. There is great variation in the degree to which this system of relief is used. Thus Hartford in 1923 had only 832 outside poor not in institutions, as compared with 5,145 in New Haven and 7,591 in Bridgeport. That is, Hartford spent \$8,800 for such relief out of a total budget of \$167,000 and even New Haven but \$18,000, while Bridgeport spent a quarter of its total expenditure for the poor of a quarter million. On this type of relief, Bristol spent 60 per cent, Naugatuck 50 per cent, and New Britain 30 per cent of its total for poor relief.

The responsibility of the State for the relief of paupers without a settlement in any Connecticut town has been clarified and broadened within recent years. In 1875 the State was responsible for paupers for the first six months after their arrival in the State, or their discharge from prison, jail, or workhouse. The comptroller was the responsible officer and he was permitted to contract for not more than five years for the support of state paupers.

During the early years of the period the State was accustomed to use a private institution at Tariffville with very poor accommodations. Towns followed the example of the State and sent to Tariffville some of their worst cases. In spite of the protest of the state board of charities, the State continued to use this institution until about 1915. The institution continued until it was forcibly closed in January, 1920.

Meantime a law of 1907 had clarified the responsibility of the State by declaring state paupers all persons without a settlement in any town in the State, indigents discharged from prison, jail, or workhouse, who, when committed, were not inhabitants of any Connecticut town and who were without relatives in Connecticut able to support them, and children born of such persons during their confinement. Unless support is otherwise provided by the State, all such state paupers must be cared for by the town. Notice must be given to the state authorities within five days of the beginning of relief and the State reimburses the town quarterly.

Up to 1921 the state official responsible for the care of such paupers was the comptroller. Since then the authority is lodged in the state agent, appointed by the state treasurer. He collects money due the State for support and all money appropriated for paupers or for the support of the insane and indigent in institutions is subject to his order. The total amount expended during the year ending June 30, 1922, for the state poor in excess of receipts, was \$170,598.58. The number aided was 5,074. Yet the department of public welfare, which is supposed to supervise the care of dependents, defectives, or delinquents, has no idea where or how these thousands of people are cared for, but supposes that they are in hospitals, in state insti-

tutions for the insane and feeble-minded, or in local almshouses.

In 1919 a law was passed for the appointment of a Connecticut infirmary commission. It was to investigate the need of an infirmary under state control for state paupers, for the poor of towns without an almshouse that can properly care for poor people, for indigent or aged persons, and for diseased, deformed, and incurable persons, for whom treatment in existing institutions is not available. It was shown that within a year town authorities would send to such an infirmary approximately 500 persons of the classes described. Town almshouses contained distressing cases of incurable diseases, such as cancer, paralysis, syphilis, for which they cannot properly care and which general hospitals do not admit. The Connecticut Hospital Association found that seventeen hospitals annually receive applications for the admission of more than 1,200 cases of chronic or incurable disease, most of which cannot be admitted. Such an infirmary might also relieve the congestion in the state hospitals, by caring for mild cases of chronic insanity, like senile dementia, which do not require the specialized treatment of the more expensive institutions. No action has been taken.

In spite of the difficulties involved in out-door relief, the State in 1919 took a step looking away from institutional care by providing for the relief of widows and dependent children. This was the result of an investigation by a state commission and followed the example of thirty-six other states which had similar laws. This law was amended in 1923. It applies to widows with dependent children under sixteen who are unable to furnish suitable support for such children in their homes. The state agent is in charge of this relief and has authority to

decide the manner and time of extending aid and whether the same shall be in cash or in merchandise. There is a detailed schedule of the maximum that can be used for rent, food, clothing, medical care, etc. Applications are made to the local officer charged with poor administration and must receive the approval of the county commissioners. Of the amount expended, the State pays one-third, the county one-third, and the municipality one-third. Although carefully guarded by restrictions, the State expended for this purpose \$91,791.99 in the fiscal year 1921 and \$112,597.68 in 1922.

There have been radical changes since 1875 in the policy of the State regarding the care of children. More than forty years ago the Legislature took two important steps: one for the strict supervision of private homes for children, and the other for the establishment in each county of temporary homes, so-called, for children without proper homes.

The first laws of 1883 and 1887 were relatively simple. They merely provided for prompt and detailed reports from any person who made a business of taking children to board. The selectmen were required personally, or by their agent, to visit and inspect such premises at least once a month. A further law was passed in 1911, which required a license from the state board of charities for any person, or group of persons, who cared for or boarded more than a specified number of children under sixteen. With the organization of the new department of public welfare, the jurisdiction over boarding homes for children was transferred to the bureau of child welfare. The number of such places licensed on June 30, 1922, was 90. Nineteen homes had been closed by the bureau

and fourteen had been required to reduce the number of children boarded by them.

The Legislature of 1921 also appropriated \$50,000 to be used by the bureau of child welfare for the board of children under four, who are too young to be placed in a county home. This has been used to pay one-half the expense of boarding such children, the other half being paid by the city or town, which can thus place the children in a better environment than an almshouse without any additional expense to the town.

The other important step taken by the State was in 1883. Up to that time there was no public provision for children who could not or ought not to remain in their homes, except almshouses and the industrial and reform schools, which were primarily designed for incipient criminals. The law of 1883 called for the opening, not later than January 1, 1884, of county temporary homes. After that date no children might legally be retained in almshouses unless they did not come within the scope of the law. The State was to pay not more than \$1,000 to assist each county to establish and maintain its home. The homes were designed to protect children between four and eighteen who were without proper homes and care. The present law states that they are for "uncared for and neglected" children. The purpose was to make these homes places of refuge. They were not to be used "as a permanent residence for any child, but for its temporary protection for so long a time only as shall be absolutely necessary for the placing of the child in a well selected family home." They were not to be within a half mile of any penal or pauper institution and were not to receive or retain any demented, idiotic child or one suffering from incurable or contagious disease.

The overseers of the poor are forbidden to keep in an almshouse any child between four and eighteen or to place children with the lowest auction bidder. They may place children in the county home for such a period as may be agreed upon between them and the board of management. Children may be cared for at the expense of private persons. Most of those in the county homes are committed by the courts, for thus the towns escape the cost of maintenance. For all such the State pays \$3.50 a week until the age of eighteen, so long as the child remains in the county home. A parent of a committed child is liable to contribute for its support. In the year ending June 30, 1922, the counties expended for buildings and repairs \$156,885.09 and for maintenance \$564,551.47, while they received from the State \$247,679.06.

Since 1921 the authority to commit children is entrusted to the Juvenile Court, or, where there is none, to the Probate Court. The term of commitment is until the age of eighteen. Before the hearing is held, the court must require a thorough physical and mental examination by the best experts available. The reports must be sent to the home with the child. Thus the State seeks to secure for each child the specialized treatment called for and to prevent the county home from receiving those whose physical or mental condition unfits them for life in such a home.

The board of management of the county home is guardian of those committed to it until they reach the age of eighteen. The board may use private orphan asylums and Litchfield County has from the beginning thus utilized the Gilbert Home, a private institution in Winsted, for its Protestant wards. They may also place children in suitable family homes or give them in adoption

in accordance with the provisions of the law. The county boards are authorized to board children in religious institutions or in private families without reducing the liability of the State for their support. Fairfield County is making large use of this provision.

The purpose for which the county homes were established was to care for such children as would otherwise be neglected or be put in almshouses until suitable homes could be found for them. It was believed that they would remain small and that the expense would never be large, since the children would soon be placed in suitable free homes. This expectation has not been realized. The difficulty of placing children in homes has proved greater than was anticipated and the homes have become relatively large institutions. Thus the smallest one, that of Tolland County, has a capacity for 70, while the homes for Hartford, Litchfield and New Haven accommodate 240, 250, and 270 respectively. The number supported by the county homes has increased from 94 in 1884, to 1,240 in 1922. Of the 1,240 supported by the county homes on June 30, 1922, 919 were actually in the homes, 30 were boarded in families, 35 were in Protestant asylums and 256 in Roman Catholic asylums. Of the 256 boarded in Roman Catholic asylums, 221 were from Fairfield County, 21 from Hartford, and 14 from Middlesex. Hartford County had the largest number in its county home, 219, followed by New Haven, 199, and Windham, 136. The Fairfield County home contained but 84 of the 317 supported by it. This total is the largest in the State. The Hartford County home has been recently enlarged in spite of the protest of the bureau of child welfare, because this would tend to prolong the residence of the children in the home.

Since the organization of the bureau of child welfare greater care has been exercised over the commitment of children. By greater care in studying cases for which commitment was asked, by finding of responsible relatives who could care for the child, and by building up the family life in co-operation with the local family welfare society, the number of commitments has been materially reduced.

Until recently the placing of children in family homes has been unsatisfactory. Thus, of the 1,500 children placed in families, when the bureau was organized, many had never been visited by a representative of the State or county since they were placed out. The county boards were not trained to do this work and the state authorities were without adequate facilities for it. The number of successful placements was too small. With the provision by the State of a greatly increased staff and the establishment of three district officers in Willimantic, Bridgeport and New Haven, it is hoped that the homes will become temporary refuges only for those who are placeable and will retain for the entire period of commitment only unplaceable children. Such "institutional" children the bureau in 1922 estimated included about one-third of the 1,200 then on support of the homes.

Some thirty years after the first laws for the licensing of homes for children were passed, provision was made for the regulation of private homes for the aged. This law of 1917 required such homes to secure from the state board of charities a revocable permit, good for a year, and to file annual reports. It was this law under which the notorious institution at Tariffville was closed. The report of the department of public welfare in 1922 gives the names of 22 such homes, with statistics of 14. These

had a capacity of 635 and were caring for an average of 525.

In the early history of Connecticut, as we have seen, the workhouse was the means of caring for a certain type of dependent, but at present there are no workhouses apart from the county jails, which fall under another heading.

II. THE SICK AND THE DEFECTIVE

The policy of the State in subsidizing public hospitals as well as granting appropriations for new hospital buildings remains unchanged. In the Nineties the state board of charities raised the question of the wisdom of the policy, declaring the amount of the appropriation was in no sense proportioned to the work done. Two of the largest hospitals received no more than one that cared for less than half as many patients. In 1899 the committee on state receipts and expenditures recommended that the maximum should be \$5,000, the exact amount being based upon the number of town and county patients during the preceding year. Nothing came from either suggestion.

The number of hospitals has rapidly increased. By 1922 there were thirty general hospitals for the maintenance of which there were appropriations totaling \$324,750, ranging from \$12,500 to \$40,000. Five of the hospitals were conducted by the Roman Catholic Church. The grants for buildings have varied greatly from time to time. Thus but \$25,000 was spent in 1921 for a single hospital, while in 1910 five were aided. In 1909 one hospital was given as much as \$50,000.

In 1911 a law was passed authorizing the Representatives and Senators of any county to make appropriations of specific sums in aid of public hospitals in such county.

One new differentiation has been made within the last twenty-five years, by the provision of special institutions for the care of those afflicted with tuberculosis. The first step in this direction was taken in 1901, when \$25,000 was appropriated for the erection by the Hartford Hospital of a branch for this class of patients. It opened in June, 1902. The New Haven County Anti-Tuberculosis Association also opened a large institution, to which the Legislature of 1903 granted \$25,000. These two sanatoria are doing a very useful work and receive generous subsidies from the State. It was soon realized, however, that the problem of tuberculosis was too great to be solved by private philanthropy, even with state aid. In 1909 comprehensive laws were passed for the control of this disease and the establishment by the State of sanatoria. A state tuberculosis commission was appointed, with authority to construct at once three sanatoria. The first of these was opened in Meriden for New Haven County in January, 1910, the State taking over property given to it by the town, on which there was already a privately conducted sanatorium. Shortly after there were opened one for Hartford County in Newington and one for Fairfield County at Shelton, and these were followed by one for New London County at Norwich. Still later The Seaside at Niantic was opened for the sun treatment of children suffering from bone and glandular tuberculosis, and the Meriden sanatorium became a special institution for children suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. Connecticut thus became a pioneer in providing special institutions for children. The children receive instruction under the supervision of the state board of education and these schools compare favorably with the public schools in the cities. The Connecticut sanatoria have been

conducted on the highest scientific plane. Monthly meetings have been held by the medical staff with reports of their researches. Many of these papers have been quoted in the medical journals here and abroad.

Any resident of the State afflicted with any form of tuberculosis may apply for care. Patients who can do so pay the full cost. Others pay a minimum of two dollars a week. The town of settlement pays the balance of four dollars a week and the State pays the remaining cost. For one who can pay nothing, the town pays four dollars a week and the State the rest. Since 1921 no town can classify as a pauper any one it has aided in a hospital or sanatorium for tuberculosis.

About 700 patients are constantly being cared for in these state sanatoria. During the year 1923-1924, 971 were admitted, 691 were discharged, and 253 died. The State has been generous in its appropriations. About \$1,300,000 has been invested in plant and equipment. The administration expenses are now about \$15,000 a year, while, with the enlargement of the plant, the cost of maintenance has increased from \$125,000 in 1910-11 to about \$700,000 in 1923-24. The amount received for the board of patients has ranged from a third down to a fifth of the amount expended by the State for maintenance.

During the last fifty years the State has greatly expanded its facilities for the care of the insane, and has now dropped the word "insane" from the title of its institutions. As early as 1877, a commission reported that there were from four to five hundred indigent insane outside of the state hospital and the Retreat at Hartford. There were fifty-four in the New Haven almshouse, some of whom were in a disgraceful condition, and others were in the notorious private institution at Tariffville. It was

proposed to house chronic insane paupers in a custodial institution at Mansfield, but this was not done, and, until 1903, the Legislature persisted in enlarging the hospital at Middletown. In that year, however, the establishment of another hospital at Norwich was authorized. It was opened in a small way in October, 1904, and at the end of four years contained more than four hundred patients. There was also established about half a mile from the main buildings a colony for the care of the chronic insane. Later, in 1915, as already stated, a state farm for inebriates was opened as a department of this hospital.

These hospitals are fully equipped as hospitals and at the same time are provided with farms and shops, in which such patients as can, work as part of their treatment. The proportion of such is from a quarter to a half. Amusement halls are included. Recently established social service departments have proved their value. The hospitals are communities in themselves. During the year 1923-24, the average number of patients at Middletown was 2,681 and the number of physicians, officers, and employees was 505. This same year the average at Norwich was 1,827, who were cared for by 261 officers and attendants. The Middletown hospital property is valued at about \$4,000,000 and that at Norwich at \$1,500,000. The plant of the former comprises 867 acres, of which 405 are under cultivation, and the latter 562 acres, with 173 cultivated. The annual expenditures of the two hospitals amount to about a million and a half. In spite of their magnitude, the hospitals are overcrowded and the quarters of the employees are such that the turnover is excessive and the shortage distressing. A considerable number of the patients of the two hospitals are constantly out on parole, and this helps to relieve the congestion.

In order to remove the scandal of keeping insane persons in almshouses, where they cannot have proper treatment or care, the Legislature of 1915 passed a law requiring a medical examination every six months of all persons supported in any almshouse or other institution in a town not maintained by county or State. If any feeble-minded or insane are found, the authorities must forthwith institute proceedings for their commitment to the appropriate state institution. In case no report is filed by the examining physician with the department of public welfare during the first week in June and December, the department itself has the examination made at the expense of the town and it may remove to a state institution any insane or feeble-minded persons discovered. In 1919 similar provisions were made for examinations of children in the county temporary homes and for transfers from them and from reformatory institutions for minors.

The old limits to the amount for which the State is liable for the support of patients were repealed in 1907, but the liability of a town is limited to two dollars a week. The comptroller annually determines the per capita cost per week of patients in the state hospitals, and this includes all the general expenses of maintenance. This forms the basis for the quarterly bills rendered by the comptroller to conservators or others liable for the support of inmates. The court, however, may determine that the amount to be paid to the State shall be more or less than the per capita cost. The estate of a person for whose support the State has been at expense is liable for reimbursing the State and this applies to the husband, wife, father, mother, children, conservator or guardian of the patient, and, since 1921, to a brother, sister, grandparent, or grandchild.

In 1923 a state psychiatric commission of five was appointed to investigate the provisions made in state hospitals for the care of the several types of defectives and the need of additional provision for them. The commission was to investigate the laws regarding the commitment, care, treatment, and discharge of such persons, and report amendments to the law or their codification.

In regard to the feeble-minded and epileptic, it will be recalled that in 1875 the State and towns were using the school at Lakeville founded by Dr. Henry M. Knight, who was succeeded by his son, Dr. George H. Knight. From time to time the State appropriated money for enlargement and improvement, and after 1887 the Governor appointed two members of the executive committee. But Lakeville was not prepared to give proper treatment to epileptics and there was no provision for those who had finished their term at Lakeville, some of whom were neglected or even returned to almshouses. Feeble-minded adults were found in the institution at Tariffville, in town almshouses, and in the state hospital at Middletown. Idiotic convicts upon their discharge from prison were cared for like the insane.

In 1909 a law was passed for the establishment at Mansfield, of the Connecticut Colony for Epileptics. Hopeful cases were to be given the preference and hopelessly or violently insane persons were excluded. The expense for the care of patients was to be borne by their estate, or by their town, or, if the person belonged to no town, by the State. Epileptic patients in other institutions might be transferred to the colony. No patient was to be discharged until, in the judgment of the superintendent, his mental and physical condition justified it. The colony was opened May 15, 1914, with accommodations for

eighty patients. It was at once almost filled by persons transferred from other institutions or committed by the courts.

Meantime, by 1913, Dr. Knight had died and in that year the Legislature passed an act for the purchase of the institution at Lakeville, and named it the Connecticut School for Imbeciles. The new management became fully effective February 1, 1914. It soon became evident that while the buildings at Lakeville had served their original purpose admirably, the institution had outgrown its plant. The number of inmates was about three hundred. It was then proposed to move the school to the large tract of land at Mansfield occupied in part by the colony for epileptics. In 1915 three of the trustees of the school, which was renamed The Connecticut Training School for the Feeble-Minded, and three of the trustees of the colony for epileptics were constituted a commission to select a site for the buildings, to which the feeble-minded patients at Lakeville could be removed. In 1917 the Legislature consolidated the two institutions into "The Mansfield State Training School and Hospital for the care, custody, treatment, education, and employment of feeble-minded and epileptic persons." To this were to be moved as soon as possible those who remained in Lakeville. In order to secure suitable treatment for patients, transfers between the hospitals at Mansfield, Norwich and Middletown were authorized. The consolidation of the two institutions took place as of July 1, 1917, and the next year the feeble-minded were removed to Mansfield from Lakeville. The buildings at that time had accommodations for about five hundred and fifty. The development of this institution has been hampered by its location away from any center, with poor train service and at first poor roads. The Mans-

field school with its 167 employees and officers, accommodates about 600, but there are more than that number of feeble-minded persons in the state hospitals for the insane, in almshouses, and county homes for children. The plant now contains upwards of 500 acres with modern fireproof buildings. The annual cost of maintenance is about \$320,000, or \$10.40 per week per inmate. The produce of the farm is valued at more than \$36,000. Industrial work is used in the training of the inmates and there is a school for those capable of education.

As early as 1893, steps were taken to prevent the discharge from penal or charitable institutions of those who would spread venereal disease. In 1919, examinations to discover malignant, infectious, or contagious disease were required of any persons in any prison or institution for ten days or more. Since 1909, each state hospital has been permitted to use drastic measures to prevent the propagation of crime, insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy, or imbecility.

Up to 1919 no marked change was made in the policy of the State regarding the deaf and dumb. The State, through the Governor, selected for education deaf minors domiciled in Connecticut. These pupils were supported in the school at Hartford and that at Mystic, to which the State from time to time made grants for improvements.

Soon after the celebration in 1917 of the centennial of the American School, at Hartford, for the Deaf, the realization of its plans for a new plant began. The main building had been erected in 1821, the school needed modern equipment, and the site had become unsuitable and too valuable for its use. Hence it was sold and a new plant erected in West Hartford, towards which the State generously contributed \$500,000. With its opening in

1922, this school, with its eclectic method of using conventional signs and oral instruction, entered upon a new era.

Meantime, the Mystic Oral School for the Deaf had been taken over by the State. This had been organized in the early Seventies as a private school for the instruction of the deaf by oral methods and without the use of the sign language. After 1874 the State used it on the same terms as the American School, in spite of many criticisms. In 1898 it was incorporated. In 1909, the Legislature began to make appropriations for the renewal and maintenance of the plant, and these created liens upon the property. This policy was continued for ten years, and then in 1919, the assembly voted to buy the stock and property of the school. At this time the school was caring for about seventy pupils, at a cost to the State of some \$20,000 a year. In 1921 the control and management of the school were vested in a board of six trustees appointed by the Governor. In 1923-24 the average number of pupils was 95, while the cost for maintenance had passed the \$60,000 mark.

Up to 1893 the policy of educating a certain number of blind children at the Perkins Institution in Boston, selected from those reported in the annual return by selectmen, was followed without change. Meantime, it had become evident that some persons became blind after they were too old for the Perkins Institution, while others returned to their old surroundings and lapsed into their former condition. The State was merely touching the edges of the problem of its blind. Hence, in 1893, a law was passed which aimed to secure an education for every blind resident of the State. The law created a Board of Education of the Blind. The law authorizes the board to provide for the education, for so long a time as it deems expedient,

of "blind persons, or persons so nearly blind that they cannot have instruction in the public schools, who are of suitable age and capacity for instruction in the simple branches of education, and who are legal residents" of the State. The board may contract with institutions, individuals, and mercantile establishments having facilities for the instruction of the blind, for the education, board, and keep of such blind persons. Laws of 1921 empower the board to aid in securing employment for capable blind or partially blind persons in positions which offer financial return, and to spend such sum as the Legislature may appropriate therefor for the instruction of the adult blind in their homes. The reason for this legislation was that of the twelve hundred or more blind persons in Connecticut, about sixty-five per cent are more than fifty years of age. The same Legislature appropriated \$10,000 for home teaching and \$20,000 for the relief of needy blind persons, to be expended in any way or to any amount deemed expedient, except that the amount spent for one person might not exceed \$30 a month. This, it was believed, was much wiser than the pension laws enacted by many states. By another act of 1921, the board may also prepare and maintain a descriptive register of the blind in Connecticut. They may register cases of persons whose eyesight is seriously defective. They may take measures in co-operation with other authorities for the prevention of blindness, the conservation of eyesight, "and, in appropriate cases, for the education of children and for the vocational guidance of adults having seriously defective sight." The board had from the beginning the power to compel a blind child to attend the institution with which it had contracted for the education of such child. Certainly no board could ask for greater authority.

It is necessary now to go back and see how the board fulfilled the purpose for which it was created.

One of the leaders in the movement for the education of the blind was Mrs. Emily Welles Foster, who served as a member of the board from its organization in 1893 until her death, in 1918. Almost simultaneously with her appointment to the board there was started what is now the Connecticut Institute for the Blind. This was a private corporation and its work was supported by private philanthropy, although the Legislature of 1895 granted it an appropriation. It sought in its school to care for blind children too young to be sent to Boston and in its industrial home to care for the destitute blind, and to carry on trades for those too old for the Boston school or who, after the completion of the course there, needed to be helped to self-support. The active members of the state board exercised a controlling influence over the institute and contracted with it for the care of many of the blind wards of the State. There was serious criticism of the institute by the state board of charities and its affairs were aired before the Legislature. The Legislature of 1899 limited the time which a blind male over eighteen could be given industrial training to three years, during which he must receive practical and uninterrupted instruction and at the end of which the state board might spend not more than \$200 to establish him in some occupation conducive to self-support. This is still the law. In 1905, as a result of the criticisms of the state board of charities, the friends of the institute induced the Legislature to place it under the exclusive jurisdiction of the board of education of the blind. The same law provided that no member of this board could be officially connected with the institute. This important provision was repealed in 1921, but no officer,

trustee, or member of the advisory board of the Institute can be entrusted with the duty of making the quarterly inspection.

At the present time the institute includes three departments, the nursery at Farmington, the school at Hartford, and the trades department just over the Hartford line in Wethersfield. The real estate of the institute on June 30, 1922, was valued at over \$200,000, while their endowment funds amounted to about \$100,000. The amount received from the state board of education of the blind had risen from \$16,000 in 1906 to \$32,000 in 1922.

During the year ending in 1922, the number of beneficiaries of the board of education of the blind was 303, of whom 79 were state pupils. For that year 87 persons received relief at a cost of nearly \$7,000. Of these, 28 were retained in the Connecticut Institute, not as pupils but as "workers," at a cost of \$3,800 and 59 were aided in their homes. Home teaching, which began in September, 1921, was carried on in 74 of the 169 towns of the State. Part of this was the instruction of elderly blind people in hand work, and their product was disposed of at two sales conducted by the board and the full price received paid to the makers.

One class of beneficiary for whom generous provision has been made, are the victims of the wars in which the United States has been engaged. The recent legislation on this subject began before 1875 but, as it has received its fuller development since that time, can best be sketched at this point.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the numerous miscellaneous provisions for the aid of the veteran. They are partially exempted from taxation, they are given preference for appointment in the public departments and upon

the public work of the State, and a certain permanency of tenure, Provision is made for suitably burying veterans and marking their graves. From 1865 to 1878 the law provided for the care of ex-soldiers who needed hospital treatment. During the five years 1870-1874 the amounts for this purpose came to \$65,250. A special hospital for soldiers in New Haven also received state aid during the closing years of the Civil War.

Meantime there had been established the institution which was to be the chief means of caring for soldiers. Benjamin Fitch of Darien founded in that town Fitch's Home for Soldiers, with the primary purpose of caring for those who should be or had been soldiers of the United States and of supporting and educating their children. Eighty-three children were received before 1871 but they soon passed through and out and the home became exclusively for veterans.

In 1878 the entire matter of relief for war veterans was placed in the Soldiers' Hospital Board, which now consists of the Governor, adjutant general, surgeon general, and five veterans, three of the Civil War and one each of the Spanish-American War and World War. This board may admit to Fitch's Home, any incorporated hospital, either state hospital, or any State or county tuberculosis sanatoria, and support therein, all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, who served in the United States forces in the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, the Philippine insurrection, the China relief expedition, and the World War, or with the allies of the United States in the World War, and who need such care and have no adequate means of support. This includes any who have resided continuously for five years in the State before applying for admission. The

wife and children under sixteen of any veteran admitted by the board may, through local authorities, receive aid while the husband and father is in the institution. Since 1903 the soldiers' hospital board may care, in his own home, for any eligible Civil War veteran at an expense not more than the cost in Fitch's Home. The provision made for the widows of veterans has varied from time to time, but under the law of 1921, the soldiers' hospital board may under specified conditions grant to widows of veterans of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars weekly allowances, not exceeding the cost of support in Fitch's Home. Separate provision was made during and after the World War for the relief of those serving in the United States forces and of their families and dependent relatives. The administration of this aid was in the hands of the board of control. Since 1919 the income from the fund of \$2,500,000 of war bonds is used by the organization of the soldiers of the World War for the relief of those who served in that war, their widows, and dependent children under sixteen.

While these other methods of relief have been developed, the soldiers' hospital board still continues to use Fitch's Home, which in 1887 was taken over by the State and since then has been conducted under State and national auspices. The home has accommodations for 525 inmates. The number present at the close of June, 1922, was 213, exclusive of officers and employees, among whom are included some soldier inmates who are paid for labor. The cost of the home is about \$170,000 a year, of which something over \$21,000 comes from the United States Government. The State pays annually for the relief of soldiers and their families about \$225,000 of which \$37,000 is for the relief of soldiers and their families outside

of institutions, a considerable amount for the burial of soldiers, and \$5,000 for the Women's Relief Corps Home at Cromwell. About twenty are cared for here at a cost to the State of \$5,000 for the year ending 1922.

III. THE DELINQUENT AND THE CRIMINAL

The last fifty years have witnessed a marked advance in the treatment of the criminal and delinquent. Not only have the institutions existing in 1875 been improved, but one private institution, the school for girls at Middletown, has been taken over by the State and two reformatory institutions have been established.

In 1875 there had been in existence for twenty years the State Reform School at Meriden. At that time it was virtually a prison and was known as the penitentiary for boys. The boys were kept under lock and key. The congregate system was used. Boys were committed for definite terms and discharged at the end, no matter what their character. Judges often preferred to send boys to jail rather than to the school. With the appointment of a new superintendent, a new regime began. Doors were swung open, the boys were taken to the circus, and no one attempted to escape, although previously locks, bolts, and bars had to be examined daily. The Legislature of 1879 made the term of commitment until the age of twenty-one, unless sooner discharged, and by 1881 the first cottage received fifty boys. This was the first step towards the abolition of the congregate system. Other cottages were added until there were five. The Legislature of 1923 made an appropriation for two more. This means that the school is to be rebuilt on its present site, not far from the center of Meriden, and on the main highway from Hartford. The state board of charities has urged its removal

to a more rural location, but apparently local interests and the desire to avoid large expenditures will keep the school where it was started nearly seventy-five years ago.

From the beginning the boys have been expected to work and the earnings of the boys have been a considerable factor in the financial support of the school. In the eight years preceding 1906, additions costing upwards of \$30,000 were made to the plant from the ordinary revenue of the school. During the year 1921-22, of the gross current expenses of \$146,500, not less than \$26,400 came from earnings and sales. The net income of the farm was more than \$15,000. The usual daily routine of the boys includes five and a half or six hours' of work of various sorts and three and a half or three hours in school.

Boys are committed to the school not as a punishment but in order that they may have the parental discipline lacking in their homes. It has been designed for boys under sixteen. From the beginning the commitments have aggregated nearly 11,000, and it is interesting to note that of this number 590 have been under 10, 66 under 8, 13 of 6, and 1 of 5 years. With the opening of the Connecticut Reformatory, some of the cases which called for a discipline that the school could not exercise, were transferred. The stay of the boys in the school averages a little more than two years and they are then returned to their homes or sent to foster homes, or work is found for them by the school agent. This is another point at which the school has been weak. Not until 1899 was there anyone who gave his full time to finding homes for the boys and visiting those who had been placed out. During 1921, 1,052 visits were made to boys on the visiting list and there had been 292 investigations of homes before 261 of the boys were admitted to parole. Of the boys dis-

charged, 84 per cent were apparently doing well, 14 per cent were doubtful, and only 2 per cent were doing badly. The total number received during the year was 285, the average in the school being 401.5. The average number of inmates in 1923-24 was 356 with 57 employees and the cost \$6.86 a week per inmate.

The institution for girls, corresponding to the school for boys, was opened in 1870 in Middletown. It was in no sense a penal institution, for minors who fell within the category of vagrants or idle persons and who were excluded from the Meriden school by the earlier laws, were received at the Industrial School for Girls. It was also a private institution, though the necessary expenses of each girl, not exceeding \$3.00 a week, were paid by the State. Nearly \$200,000 from private sources have been invested in the plant in addition to what the State has contributed. While most similar institutions fifty years ago were built upon the congregate plan, the leaders in the establishment of the Connecticut school were farseeing enough to begin with the cottage system. From the beginning until June, 1917, the school was managed with a consistent policy and without any radical changes, as it was for more than thirty years in charge of the same family. In the earlier days of the school, before the county homes were opened, there was no adequate provision for homeless or neglected girls and many of these were sent to Middletown, even though the school was designed for girls who were in danger of falling into evil habits and had taken the first steps away from upright living. Yet the school received and by law had to accept innocent girls, even very small ones, whose parents, rather than they, were in need of attention from the law. The growth of the school has been gradual and relatively small. Thus,

the increase for the ten years from December 1, 1881, to December 1, 1891, was only from 174 to 228. Ten years later there were 260 in the school and in 1911, 275. By 1921 the number had fallen to 191. The lack of growth during the last two decades is due in part to a law of 1905, by which the type of girls for which the Middletown school was opened may now be committed either to that school or to any institution chartered for such purpose and approved by the state board of charities. Two such institutions are the House of the Good Shepherd, in Hartford, and the Florence Crittenden Home, in New Haven. The number of inmates in those two homes is about two hundred, some of whom are of the class of those at Middletown. Moreover, first offenders are no longer committed but are entrusted to probation officers. An institution like that of Middletown receives them only as a last resort. This keeps down the number and increases the difficulty of the school.

For many years the state allowance upon which the school was dependent for maintenance was but \$3.00 a week per girl. This made it necessary to keep the school of a certain size or incur a deficit. Now the State pays any bills allowed by the comptroller.

In spite of these handicaps, the school held its own during the thirty years prior to 1917. The girls were given kindly but firm discipline, had four hours a day in the school rooms, which included nine grades, and four hours in the various departments of work. Instruction in moral and religious principles was emphasized. By good conduct, girls could become eligible for dismissal or placing out in a family. The work of visiting the girls placed out was always faithfully done. Since 1917 the management has been in the hands of women, experts in

this line of work. In July of that year the girls were set to work on the farm under the supervision of a trained woman agriculturalist, with very beneficial results. This was followed by a mental survey of all the girls and the investigation of their family history, etc. Student government was introduced and the time of the detention of the girls in the school reduced.

By a law of 1921 the State took over the school and it became the Long Lane Farm. The present law limits those who are committed to it to those under sixteen who have been adjudged delinquent. When a girl is released, it is on parole.

The number of girls received from the beginning until the close of the year 1923-24 was over 2,800, of whom about 175 were in the school and about 160 were on parole. The per capita cost was \$16.49 per week per inmate, and the expense to the State for maintenance was nearly \$200,000. The State is also paying some \$40,000 to the House of the Good Shepherd and the Florence Crittenden Home for the state wards under their control.

It is a strange fact that Connecticut delayed so long the erection of a reformatory for either men or women. The need of such institutions had long been patent. The schools at Meriden and Middletown could not handle offenders who had passed the age of sixteen. The prison was overcrowded and some of those there would have been amenable to reformatory discipline. The jails could never exert a reforming influence. Yet nothing was done. In 1895 it looked as if the agitation would bear fruit, for in that year an act was passed creating a state reformatory. This was to include a woman's department with separate buildings and in charge of women. The appropriation was too meagre for more than a beginning. The directors

purchased too small a lot, in an unsuitable location, and made plans for an elaborate plant. A storm of protest arose, the directors were ordered to cease operations, and the law was repealed. It was not until 1903 that any further action was taken.

In 1903 the Legislature enacted a law for the establishment of the Connecticut Reformatory for Men, for the appointment of a commission to select a site, secure plans, obtain bids, and report to the next Legislature. No provision was made for women. It was this failure even to recommend any steps for a reformatory for women that led to the passage in 1905 of the law already referred to by which females between sixteen and twenty-one, of vicious life or tendencies may be committed to any institution, other than the school at Middletown, chartered for the purpose of caring for this class of young women. The House of the Good Shepherd, and the Florence Crittenden Home, thus arose to meet a real need which the State was unwilling to supply. The courts began to make use of this law in 1907.

Finally, in 1909, the Legislature appropriated \$400,000 for the establishment of the Connecticut Reformatory for Men. The site selected was two miles north of the center of Cheshire. The warden of the state prison at Wethersfield resigned to become superintendent at the reformatory. The institution was opened in June, 1913, with accommodations for four hundred. The plant is of fireproof construction, with school building, library, chapel, hospital, workshops, and the other equipment of an up-to-date institution. Within the enclosure there are twenty-five acres, which give ample facility for athletics. No one is permitted to leave the institution who cannot read and write English and who is without a reputable trade. The

inmates care for the farm, are taught to be cooks, bakers, blacksmiths, etc., and do all the manual labor in the institution. It is expected that the trades will be more than self-supporting. Religious instruction and worship are required of all. There are both Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains. A full-time social worker studies the surroundings and family of each one committed, in order to understand his case and meet his need. The inmates are males between sixteen and twenty-five convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for less than life and who are thought to be amenable to reformatory methods; offenders sentenced by the lower courts and inmates of the Connecticut school for boys transferred for stricter discipline. The directors feel that two years is about the minimum time in which the influence of the reformatory can be made dominant. After this period of detention, the case is considered by the board of parole and, if it seems best, the man is paroled to some specific work for which a place has been secured. If he keeps this place for a year, he is then discharged. At least three-fourths of those paroled earn their discharge and become orderly citizens. On the other hand, if persistently disobedient and incorrigible, the directors may transfer an inmate to jail or prison for the remainder of his term. The number of inmates at the close of the year 1921-22 was 314, of whom 182 were in the first grade. The average population for the year 1923-24 was 239 inmates and 66 officers and employees. The annual cost of maintenance is about a quarter of a million, or \$16.21 a week per inmate.

It was not until 1917 that a similar institution for women was started. In 1913, a special commission was appointed to investigate the subject of a reformatory for women. Their report was vigorous, the committee on

humane institutions favored the institution, but no appropriation could be secured.

At once a body of women began a campaign in support of the project. This committee presented a bill which was enacted in 1917, creating the Connecticut State Farm for Women. The law was an advanced one, specifying clearly the type of institution to be created and the sort of site required. The plan called for cottages, so that the inmates could be properly classified. The directors were given \$50,000 for the purchase of a site, the erection or alteration of buildings, and the cost of maintenance for two years. The site secured was in the town of East Lyme. Houses already standing were refitted to accommodate twenty-three inmates and the state farm was declared open on July 10, 1918. Within a few weeks it was filled. Those eligible for the farm are women over sixteen, convicted of any felony or misdemeanor, and any unmarried girls between sixteen and twenty-one who are either leading vicious lives or are in danger of falling into habits of vice, and who would be benefited by such commitment. A careful physical and mental examination of each one committed is made by a competent physician. The board of directors constitute a board of parole and discharge, but no person can be paroled unless she is in good physical condition, has ability to earn an honest living, has a satisfactory institutional record, and has either a suitable home to which she can go or suitable employment secured for her in advance by the board. An inmate who is incorrigible or whose presence is detrimental to the institution may be transferred to prison or jail. Inmates requiring special care or medical attention may be sent for treatment to another state institution or to a hospital.

Much of the work in preparing the buildings for use,

as well as preparing the land for crops, has been done by the inmates. Farming, dairy and poultry work, as well as sewing, cooking, laundry work, and the care of the household departments contribute to the training of the inmates. There are also provisions for general instruction and for recreation. The farm cannot receive more than a fraction of the five hundred to a thousand women who might properly be committed to it. The average number of the inmates for 1923-24 was 104, with some 53 on the parole list. The cost averaged \$18.52 a week per inmate or a total for the year of about \$100,000.

No radical changes have been made in the jail system during the last half century. New buildings have been erected, sanitary conditions have been improved, but the jails are still controlled by the counties and contain a conglomerate of petty offenders, rounders, and those awaiting trial. The state reformatory and state farm for women have removed certain persons and classes from the jails, the probation law passed in 1903 keeps others from jail sentences, while the laws governing children under sixteen exclude from jail petty offenders belonging to this group.

Not only does each county maintain a jail but two counties have two. Ten jails in a state no larger or more populous than Connecticut mean the maintenance at considerable expense of small institutions without any possibility of the proper classification of prisoners. Thus, at the close of the fiscal year 1923, only four of the counties had more than 50 in jail, four had less than 20, and one only 7, and New London had divided its 41 between two jails.

Towns are unwilling to be deprived of the honor of having a jail. Windham and Tolland Counties retain their jails in small towns, miles from a railroad, although the

courts are held in larger centers. Windham erected a new jail in 1896 in the same town.

The board of charities has had difficulty at times in securing compliance with adequate standards in the way of neatness and sanitation. At one time certain jails supplied neither sheets nor pillow cases. Proper facilities for bathing have at times been lacking. Even today the lighting is inadequate. With the exception of two or three larger jails, reading or writing in the cells on dark days or after sundown is difficult, if not impossible. Plenty of light, natural and artificial, is necessary for the physical and moral well-being of prisoners. Another evil has been the placing of two prisoners in a cell. Even now three jails are without any cells for women. In many cases, likewise, the facilities for exercise are inadequate, especially for the bound-over men, who may spend weeks in demoralizing idleness in their cells and the narrow corridors adjoining.

This leads naturally to the question of labor in the jails. Ever since 1837, it will be recalled, the law has permitted the jail authorities to require work of all convicted prisoners and to offer work and provide materials for others who so desired. There has often been failure to carry out this law, which would remove the demoralizing influence of idleness upon able-bodied men and women as well as reduce the cost of maintaining jails. Windham County has a large jail farm, which furnishes all the work needed for the prisoners and makes the per capita cost of maintenance low. Other small jails have been remiss at this point. Thus, the report of 1902 stated that only six of the fifty-one males in the New London jail were employed. The customary method of employment in the larger jails has been to have the labor of the men used by

contractors for the manufacturing of articles like furniture or for the cane-seating of chairs.

Since 1915, inmates may be used upon public bridges or highways or upon county property. The work for the women prisoners is confined to kitchen work, laundry work, or sewing.

One improvement in jail administration was the substitution in 1907 of the salary system for the fee system, so that no longer do the sheriffs have any pecuniary interest in the maintenance of a large jail population.

One of the striking features of the jail situation has been the recent marked decrease in the number of commitments. The average number of inmates for more than ten years preceding 1914 was about 1,000. Then it began to increase, reaching the peak in 1917, with an average of 1,304. After that it fell, reaching the amazing minimum of 399 in 1920, from which it reacted to 508 in 1922, and 419 in 1923.

Coincident with this reduction in numbers has been the increased cost of supplies, and this has produced a serious financial situation. In the earlier days the amount received from the State for the board of convicted persons, added to the earnings of the prisoners, more than met the expenses. The better managed jails made money. This remained true through 1916, when the expenses were \$18,000 less than the receipts. The next year there was a deficit of \$13,000. The deficit increased until it reached \$115,000 in 1921 and then receded to \$81,000 in 1922. The average cost of maintenance per inmate per week ranged in 1922-23 from \$4.98 to \$21.14, it being below \$10.00 in only three counties. The State pays towards this but \$3.00. The total amount received from the State has fallen from \$178,000 in 1917 to less than \$75,000 in 1922.

This makes a serious situation for the counties and it is possible that the opposition of the local communities to the centralization of the control of jails by the State, with a reduction in their number and consequent decrease in cost, will cease. For years the state board of charities made earnest efforts to change the entire system. While much was being done to meet the needs of the state prison and to secure the authorization of reformatories for men and women, nothing was being done to remove the demoralizing influence of the jail and nothing could be done until there was a centralized control. Even the recommendation in 1905 for the appointment of a commission to study the entire situation was defeated.

The state prison at Wethersfield still remains the largest penal institution in Connecticut. It was at first the model prison of the country but by 1875 had become anything but a credit to the State. Investigations made in 1871 had revealed a shocking state of affairs, both as to administration and as to plant. The investigators declared that any large expenditure for repairs would be a waste of money and that new buildings were demanded. This was the situation in 1875. Today it is quite different, and yet the history of the prison during the last fifty years is not one of which the State can be very proud, and it still stands on a site which has been more than once declared unsuitable. While new buildings have been erected and the criticisms regarding sanitary conditions and administration no longer hold, every attempt to secure a new plant in a better location has failed.

The difficulties of the prison reached a climax in 1877, when one of the prisoners committed suicide, two tried to escape, and four actually got away. A legislative committee declared the next year that discipline was im-

paired; that the officials had been using intoxicating liquor, some of which reached the prisoners; that the books were kept carelessly; and that a watchman had been murdered as a result of dishonest and corrupt acts by one or more under-officers. At once the warden was empowered to increase the number of his officers and the following year, 1879, the whole administration of the prison was changed. The directors were to serve without compensation. The law read: "The appointment (of directors) made under the provisions of this act shall, so far as practicable, be of a non-partisan character." Thus it was hoped to take the prison out of politics. Five new men of the highest character, including Francis Wayland, then Dean of the Yale Law School, were put on the board. There was immediate improvement in discipline and morale. The close confinement of the prisoners in their ill-ventilated cells from Sunday noon until Monday morning had made the prisoners sullen. A Sunday afternoon praise service changed this. The chaplain stopped having Sunday School classes taught by convicts and through the Hartford Young Men's Christian Association secured as teachers nineteen Hartford men of standing. This resulted in reducing the number of punishments by more than a third and attempts at escape ceased.

Fourteen years later there was another complete change of administration. The prison had been under fire for some time. Several removals had been made in 1889 in order to promote the moral tone of the official staff. While the directors in their report to the Legislature in 1893 stated that the prison had never been in better condition, things were not moving smoothly. While the number of prisoners was smaller than for many years, the jails were over-crowded, and one judge was reported

to have declared that he would not sentence perpetrators of an outrageous assault upon a woman to the demoralizing influence of the prison. The Legislature appointed a committee to investigate the prison. In 1898 it was discovered that the bookkeeper had been embezzling public funds. With the appointment of the new warden in 1899, a new period for the prison began and from that time there has been a steady improvement, with a slight setback in 1920, until today the management of the prison is an honor to the State.

This is not saying that the prison itself is ideal, but only that the best use possible is being made of the present site and plant. Great improvements have been made, however, and while the prison is situated on low land, near the Connecticut River, and while there is little opportunity for outdoor work, the present prison contains little of the institution as it existed in 1875.

A proposal in 1885 for a new prison was approved unanimously by the Senate but rejected by the house. In the years following 1886, the prison was made over with modern cells for four hundred and fifty, a chapel, hospital, school room, kitchen, laundry, improved officers' quarters, and well ventilated shops. This resulted in an improvement in the discipline, health, and morale of the prison. Yet, a little later, a new warden reported that he had found such conditions that he would have hesitated to accept had he known the facts. Leaky roofs, no proper heating plant, sewer gas escaping into every department, inadequate lighting facilities, and water supply—these were some of the items in his indictment. The Legislature in 1899 and 1901 then made appropriations for new buildings, including a congregate dining-room and large workshops.

The question of a new plant would not down, and in 1917 a commission was appointed to procure a site and secure plans and specifications. The commission purchased land in East Granby and asked the Legislature of 1919 for \$1,500,000 to construct the buildings most urgently needed. This was refused, the commission abolished, and in 1921 the board of control was directed to sell the land, and the State once more settled down to use the old buildings at Wethersfield.

Of equal importance with the improvement of buildings has been the inclusion of more land within the prison walls. This has made possible outdoor exercise and recreation. The State has not acted hastily in this. In former years, after a man had once entered the prison, almost his only outdoor exercise was the slow march between cell and workshop on his way to and from work. The result was pallid complexions, listless demeanor, pulmonary complaints. A new administration in 1893 required the prisoners to have one hour's exercise a week in the open air. Their appetite at once increased and their general health improved. This policy lasted but a short time. In 1916 the directors urged the enclosure of more land within the prison walls, the use of which as a recreation yard might be offered as a premium for good conduct. After five years the Legislature granted money for this purpose.

These changes are typical of the new principles governing the administration of the prison. It was originally conceived of merely as a place of punishment. Except for the hours in the shops, the prisoners spent their entire time in their cells. Under no circumstances were they permitted to converse with one another. It was believed that only thus could they be properly punished and led

to repentance. The change in policy has been slow. In 1886 the prison directors expressed their admiration for the character and work of the late warden, but alluded to his lack of hospitality to new ideas. While the management always sought the reformation of the prisoners, the physical surroundings and the regimen and discipline had little elevating or inspiring power. Great improvements have been made along these lines in recent years.

In 1898 the entire prison, including the cells, was furnished with electric lights. This greatly improved the sanitary conditions and health, and gave adequate light for reading. The prisoners had always eaten their meals in their own cells. In 1902 the congregate dining-room was opened with good results. Since 1914 talking has been permitted during the noonday meal. Improvements were made in the matter of bathing and clean clothes. A prison orchestra was organized. The whole policy is now more humane. Force is kept more in the background.

In 1884 the use of the gag as a method of punishment was abolished. What would the old wardens have thought of the proposal to deprive them of the authority of "moderately whipping them (the prisoners), not exceeding ten stripes for any one offense"? And this was not merely proposed but actually enacted in 1923, without any serious results. Such is the new day at Wethersfield.

One reason for urging the erection of a new prison had been the impossibility of adequately grading the prisoners, but in 1896 changes had been made so that a grading system was put into effect, followed in 1916 by a greatly prized honor roll. A new warden, appointed in 1899 without regard to political considerations or local feeling, abolished the old degrading lock step and substi-

tuted an open military step. The chaplains have important functions in the work of the prison. From near the beginning a Protestant clergyman served as official chaplain. For about fifty years, the Roman Catholic prisoners have been ministered to by a priest of their faith. Since 1902, the list of the prison officers has included both chaplains. More recently the Jews of Hartford had been permitted to minister to their brethren and to celebrate the solemn festivals of their religion and a class in Christian Science has been formed with readings held every Sunday. The chaplain has supervision of the library and of the night school. This is taught three evenings a week during the winter, gives the elements of education, and is obligatory for illiterate prisoners. A printing office, issuing a small monthly paper to which prisoners contribute, is maintained. On Saturday afternoons members of the first and second grades have general recreation in the prison yards with inter-team ball games.

For five years the resident physician has been also a psychiatrist. A complete physical and mental survey of the prison showed that 21.86 per cent were mentally deficient and that 42.92 per cent were not normal.

From 1860 to 1898 there was at the state hospital at Middletown a ward for the criminal insane. Because strict discipline was not possible here, many mild cases were retained at the prison, where they suffered from an improper regimen. After twenty years of agitation, an insane ward was opened at the prison January 1, 1898. Since 1902 this has been used only for men, the insane women convicts being cared for at Middletown. Very recently great improvements have been made in the care,

treatment, and employment of those in the insane ward at the prison.

For many years, until 1878-79, the prison at Wethersfield was self-supporting through the labor of the prisoners. Even today the prison thus pays the major part of its cost. The earnings of the prison for the year 1923-24 amounted to \$145,800. Of the receipts for maintenance for that year of \$192,000, prison labor was credited with \$122,000 and the State with less than \$42,000. This was on the basis of an average prison population of 525, and an average weekly cost per capita of \$6.69. The plant is inventoried at \$925,000. In addition to the labor performed by the convicts for the maintenance of the prison, the contract system continues in use. From 1875 to 1895 the chief industry was shoe making. In 1895 shirt making was added and this is now the only contract industry. From time to time criticisms have led to investigations and the passage of regulative statutes, but the system has not been displaced. While no one is fully satisfied with the present policy, it should be borne in mind that in Connecticut the prison officials have entire control of the discipline of the prisoners in the shop and the determining of the task. This is lower than in outside factories and is proportioned to the mental and physical capacity of the workers. By doing more than the task assigned to them, the prisoners can earn something for themselves. Inmates with a record for good conduct may now be allowed a wage of not more than fifteen cents a day, payable with interest when they are discharged. The earnings may also be used earlier for the benefit of the prisoner's family. These earnings come to some \$20,000 a year. In their last report, the directors declare that the greatest lack in the system of the prison is the failure to prepare

the prisoners for self-support by training them sufficiently in useful trades. Few inmates are skilled in any trade.

Within the last fifty years the laws for the reduction of sentences for good conduct have been clarified and strengthened, and laws have been enacted providing for maximum and minimum sentences, with a board of parole. Before 1883 petitions for pardons were presented to the General Assembly. Since then this authority has been entrusted to a board of pardons.

It is quite in accordance with Connecticut precedents that a very important function in relation to prisoners is performed by a publicly recognized and subsidized private organization, The Connecticut Prison Association. It was organized in 1876, incorporated in 1879, received its first grant from the State in 1878, and since 1887 has been furnished an office in the capitol. For the two years ending June 30, 1923, the state appropriation was \$16,750. The association helps prisoners when discharged to reach their families or friends and to secure honest employment. Its agent talks with prisoners before their release and seeks to counsel with them and plan for their future. The association stands ready to assist each man until he is self-supporting and promises, if the man "makes good," to secure from the Legislature the restoration of his rights as a citizen. It also receives upon the expiration of his sentence the insane criminal and places him in the hands of those legally responsible for his further care. In the year 1921-22 the association assisted 132 of the 138 prisoners released that year and 33 others previously discharged.

This is the story, briefly told, of the history of Connecticut institutions. Much that is of interest and importance has necessarily been omitted. No attempt has been made either to gloss over or to exaggerate mistakes or failures. There is much in the record of which the State can well be proud. There is much that challenges the citizens to bring up the lagging institutions to the high standard set by the best, and so to develop, expand, modernize, and improve both institutions and policies that those who are unfortunate shall be humanely cared for, those who are defective shall be given the best opportunity for development, and those who have broken the laws may have every chance to be restored to upright living.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT IN CONNECTICUT

BY CHARLES EDWARD AMORY WINSLOW

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1. COLONIAL QUARANTINE LEGISLATION 1636-1760

WE think of the public health movement at the present day as a broad and comprehensive program for the prevention of disease by community sanitation and personal hygiene, with all the resources of bacteriology and medicine so focused on the conditions of human life as to leave no loophole for the entrance of microbic enemies or for the development of even constitutional maladies beyond the point of possible control. It must be remembered, however, that this is a very new conception. The basic scientific knowledge which made it possible to hold microbic diseases in check was only won for us by Louis Pasteur in the period between 1865 and 1877. Even the campaign for sanitation in the broader and less scientific sense dates only from the report of the English Poor Law Commissioners on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain in 1842. Prior to this period, public health legislation was little more than a series of frantic attempts to check the spread of epidemics in actual process by the application of more or less vaguely comprehended principles of quarantine.

Our own State has furnished no exception to this general rule. During the first century and a quarter of its Colonial history Connecticut's public health laws dealt solely with this problem of quarantine¹ and for the most

¹See *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut (1636-1776)* Volumes 1-3, edited by J. H. Trumbull. Volumes 4-15, edited by C. J. Hoadley. See also C. A. Lindsley, *The Beginnings and Growth of Sanitary Legislation in Connecticut*, *Proceedings of the Connecticut Medical Society* 1892. See also C. — E. A. Winslow, *Health Legislation in Colonial Connecticut*. *Bull. Soc. Med. History*, III, 317.

part were concerned with one particular disease, the dreaded smallpox. It is true that the registration of births and marriages was provided for by the Connecticut Colony as early as 1644, while reporting of deaths was added in 1650; but vital statistics were not then collected for their public health significance. The first real health law was enacted by the General Assembly of March 11, 1663, as a result of the prevalence of smallpox in the neighboring colony of New York and ran as follows:

This Court vnderstanding that the hand of God is gone out agaynst the people at New Netherlands, by pestilentiall infections, doe therfore prohibit all persons for comeing from any of those infectious places into this Colony and amongst o^r people, vntil ye Assistants are informed and satisfied that the distemp^r is allayed; and that whoeuer breaks this order shal pay Fieue pound fine to y^e publ: Treasury. And if any person shall bring a vessell from thenc and land their men or goods in any harbour in this Colony, the Master of y^e vessell shal forfeit Ten pounds to y^e Publ: Treasury. And y^e Constables in each Town are hereby required and authorized too distrein the fines of such as transgress this order. And whoeuer of o^r people shal goe aboard any such vessell he or she shal pay fue pounds to y^e Treasury for euery such offenc. The Constables in each Town are to informe the Masters of vessels, of this order.

Three years later (May 10, 1666) the general problem of maritime quarantine was referred to local authorities, in accordance with the cherished Connecticut principle of local self-government, and in the following terms: "This Court doth commend and leaue it wth y^e magistrates to settle some course to preuent infection that may happen to the inhabitants in this Colony by vessels that may come into any of our Ports."

In 1677-78 Massachusetts was severely afflicted with the smallpox which in the following year spread to New

York. Connecticut appears to have come off rather easily at first. The General Court of October 10, 1678 in setting apart a day for public thanksgiving refers to the good measure of health "injoyed by the people of this colony, that that infection which hath been very greivous in o^r neighbour colony and allso begin in this, hath through the mercy of God been stayed, so that it hath not as yet spread in the plantations or famalys of this colony." April 7, 1679, orders were issued prohibiting the entrance to any of the ports of the colony of ships from New York without special license. In the call for Thanksgiving Day 1680 it is noted that "the generall sickness that hath been amongst vs hath not been so mortall as was feared." Epidemic disease of some sort appears to have broken out in severe form shortly thereafter; for in the Colonial Records under date of October 12, 1682, is reference to "the late sore sickness and deaths that have been in sundry of o^r plantations." The County Court at New London could not be held in September 1683 on account of general sickness and in the Thanksgiving proclamation of October 11, 1683 is the following touching appeal:

Whereas it is evident to all whoe observe the footsteps of Divine providence that the dissipation of God towards his poore wilderness people have been very solemne, awfull and speaking for many yeares past, and particularly towards o^rselves in this colony this present yeare, by reason of generall sickness in most places and more than ordinary mortality in some.

In a letter to Governor Dongan of New York under date of October 16 is reference to the "sickness that is still amongst us, whereby many are made very weake and low."

In 1689 the General Court was again unable to meet in August on account of the prevalence of epidemic dis-

ease. Secretary Allyn writes to Governor Bradstreet, August 9, 1689, "It is a very sickly time in most of our plantations, in some near two-thirds of our people are confined to their beds or homes, and it is feared some suffer for want of tendance, and many are dead amongst us, and the great drought begins to be very afflictive." In New London at this time the prevalent disease, very probably diphtheria, is described in the Town Clerk's record in the following terms:

An Accompt of severall persons Deceased by the present Distemper of sore throats and ffeaver which Distemper hath passed through most familys & proved very mortall with many Especially to those that now have it in this more than ordinary Extremity of hot weather, the Like haveing not been knowne in ye memory of man.

Special days of fasting and prayer were set apart on May 14, 1691 on account of "the continuance of sickness and many deaths in some of our chiefe plantations" and on March 12, 1698 on account of "great sicknesse and mortality." The last two decades of the seventeenth century appear to have been marked by a heavy incidence of disease in the Connecticut Colony.

It will be noted that the quarantine legislation of Connecticut was so far of a purely emergency nature, the action taken in 1663 and 1679 referring simply to ships coming from New York during a particular outbreak, while the provision of 1666 left it to local authorities to take similar *ad hoc* measures. The first comprehensive and broadly drawn act for maritime quarantine was passed by the General Assembly in 1702. This law provided that no vessel with smallpox or other contagious sickness on board or coming from parts where such sickness prevailed should come within half a mile of any

landing place "without license first had for so doing from the Governour or Comander in Chief of this Colonie for the time being, or from the two next Assistants or Justices of the peace (where such harbour doth not lie near the place of the Governours residence)." Any persons landing without license could be returned to the ship or confined in any other suitable place. It will be noted that this act no longer deals merely with smallpox coming from the New Netherlands or any other specific place but with any contagious sickness from any source. Furthermore, in a final clause the possibility of spreading disease by land travel within the colony was recognized, as well as the danger of importation by shipping, provision being made for the establishment of what was in essence a quarantine hospital "for the enterainment of such who shall necessarily travail" from any places where pestilential or contagious sicknesses were prevalent, within or without the colony. The authors of the law were however still clearly concerned with the passage of disease from one town or settlement to another rather than the spread of infection within an individual community. A more complete conception of quarantine is found in the Act of 1711 which provided that persons from places "visited with the smallpox or any other contagious sickness," whether "coming from abroad, or belonging to any town or place within this Colony" may be removed and placed in a separate house or houses and provided with "nurses and tendance and other assistance and necessaries." Both housing facilities and nursing service could be impressed for this purpose by the warrant of two justices of the peace.

In the winters of 1711-12 and 1712-13 there occurred what was long called "the great sickness," an epidemic which is said to have killed one-tenth of the population.

Webster says of this disease (very possibly a part of the pandemic of influenza then raging in Germany, Holland, Denmark and Italy), "It was so general that nurses could scarcely be found to tend the sick." Cotton Mather preached a sermon at the Boston Lecture, January 24th, 1711-12, printed in 1712, entitled "Some seasonable thoughts upon mortality; a sermon occasioned by the raging of a mortal sickness in the Colony of Connecticut, and the many deaths of our brethren there," in which he says, "The mortality has remarkably fallen upon two sorts of persons . . . First, many useful men, men of some station and figure . . . Secondly, many young, and strong, and hearty men, men likely to have lived many a day, have been carried off; and very suddenly too, with very little warning."

For the next twenty years the records of the meetings of the Governor and Council contain many quaint references to particular problems of maritime quarantine, smallpox always being the disease in actual question. Thus on November 17, 1714 these grave authorities dealt with the case of one Theobald's arrival in a sloop from New York with a passenger named Gailer on board who had gone on shore and died of smallpox at Guilford. The sloop being then at Weathersfield, Mr. Justice Bulkley was "directed to take care that the said persons be kept on board, till it appear that they are not infected with that distemper; and that they be not suffered to land any goods that may probably convey the distemper, till they are sufficiently aired in such place as the said justice shall direct; that if it should happen that any of them be taken sick with the distemper, he give the proper orders that they should be relieved with such physick and help and other necessarys as shall be needful, either on board, or

in some convenient house; and in such case, that he take care the master give bond with sureties to reimburse the charge which their sickness may occasion, by satisfying physitians and tenders, or otherwise; or that in case such bond be refused, that then the said justice do issue out his warrant and secure such a part of the cargo on board as shall be sufficient to defray the said charge."

On December 4, 1714 Jeremy Wilson, lately arrived at New London in a sloop from New York after direct exposure to smallpox, was quarantined with his boy in a small farmhouse belonging to Richard Christophers impressed for the purpose. Jeremy, instead of remaining in this house as ordered "until after the next change of the moon" "did the last night break from his confinement and come into the heart of the town, to his own family full of small children, to the great hazard of the town and danger of spreading the infection." On December 6, 1714 therefore the Governor and Council resolved, "that direction be given to the civil authority in the town, to procure some fit person who shall be set to superintend and see that the order of law in such cases, or such directions he may receive from the said authority and selectmen of the town, relating to the care of the said Wilson and man, both for their own comfort and for the preservation of the town for that end, be duly attended; to which service he shall be sworn to be faithful, and shall be allowed a meet recompence by said Wilson."

In 1721 a sloop under the command of Captain Joseph Allyn arrived at Weathersfield from Boston with small-pox on board and the Governor and Council promulgated the following rigorous conditions for quarantine:

That the doors and windows of Mr. Allyn's house next the street, and at each end, be nail'd up, and so effectually secured as

to prevent any thing being conveyed into or put out of the house on the side next the highway, or towards the neighbouring houses at each end; and that care be taken to let in sufficient air on the backside of his house.

That the tenders on the sick or nurses, be charged that whatever they have occasion to bring out of the sick person's room and throw out of doors, be carried out some back way, and in some convenient place for that end buried, or covered over with dirt, to prevent the dilating of any ill scent in the air.

At the same time it was provided, in view of the general danger of introducing smallpox from Boston, that the gunner of the fort at Weathersfield, where coasting vessels from Boston commonly put in, should "constantly keep one man on duty there, who shall be directed to stop all vessels below the fort, and not suffer any to come on shore from them 'till notice is given to some authority, and leave be had for their so doing."

The most complicated of these quarantine cases was, however, that of John Rogers of New London who returned from Boston sick of the smallpox in October 1721. No less than twelve different meetings of the Governor and Council were devoted almost entirely to the "stupidity and stubbornness" and the "unruliness" of the family and friends of Rogers who repeatedly broke quarantine. Finally two guards were appointed to lodge at neighboring farms and keep "watch and ward day and night, and by coming as near to the house of said Rogers as they may without danger of infection, labour to understand the state of the sick there" and to discover and prevent any communication between the sick family and the outer world. All dogs belonging to the Rogers household or commonly resorting thither were ordered to be destroyed. Finally, even one of the tenders of those that were sick became infected with unruliness, if not with smallpox,

and returned contrary to express orders to his home in Groton where he in turn had to be quarantined.

A new quarantine act was passed in 1732 which added to the provisions of the previous laws the requirement that a white flag at least two feet square should be hoisted on a ten foot pole in front of a quarantined house or on the shrouds of a quarantined vessel,—the modern principle of placarding. This act was modeled on a Massachusetts law of 1731, as the Connecticut legislation of 1711 followed a law of Massachusetts, passed there in 1701-2.

An amendment of 1756 provided that it should be the duty of ship owners coming from infected ports to report immediately upon arrival "from whence they came, and the true circumstances of the people and cargo on board." Landing was not to be permitted until such report and order thereupon had been made. In the case of incoming vessels at least, we thus have the practice of notification added to isolation, placarding and disinfection (which took the primitive form of airing); and this amendment completed the general quarantine legislation of Colonial Connecticut. In the period of about a century between 1663 and 1756 there had thus developed a fairly complete and, so far as the limited knowledge of the time made possible, a fairly effective system of maritime and land quarantine, directed in general terms against all communicable diseases but actually enforced chiefly,—and so far as we know solely,—against smallpox.

2. THE PROBLEM OF SMALLPOX INOCULATION 1760-1794

Smallpox again occupied the center of the stage in Connecticut health legislation during the last third of the

eighteenth century; but attention was now focused upon a very different aspect of this sinister disease. The practice of securing protection against the smallpox by inoculation had been introduced into England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1717 and into America by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston of Boston in 1721. It was the precursor of modern vaccination but differed from it in that the material used for inoculation was true smallpox virus and not the harmless vaccine virus. The persons who were inoculated, while securing protection themselves could therefore transmit the virulent disease to others and thus constituted a real potential danger to the community as a whole. From the first this practice had aroused vehement and not wholly unjustifiable opposition. It is recorded that "Dr. Boylston was threatened with hanging by the populace, and on one occasion was compelled to secrete himself for two weeks in a private place in his house, in order to escape the search of an infuriated mob, excited by the slanders of the newspapers and his medical colleagues." Lindsley says of this episode, "The stagnant waters of Colonial medical life were stirred as they had never been before. The medical profession was as usual divided in opinion, the majority being opposed to it, while strangely enough, the warmest advocates and defenders of the practice were in the ranks of the clergy." Cotton Mather was the leading protagonist of the new procedure; and he claimed to have received direct information in regard to its efficacy from African slaves even before the news of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's demonstration crossed the Atlantic. The evidence which he received from these Africans was to the effect "that in their country grandy-many dy of the small-pox; but now they learn this way; people take juice of small pox, and cutty

skin, and put in a drop; then by 'nd by a little sicky, sicky; and nobody dy of it, and nobody have smallpox any more."

The danger that smallpox might spread from the inoculated to their neighbors had led the Legislature of South Carolina as early as 1738 to provide that no one in Charleston or within two miles of the city limits should inoculate any person or permit himself to be inoculated, under penalty of a fine of 500 pounds. By March 1760 the practice had grown to such a point as to call for regulation in Connecticut. The General Assembly therefore provided that no one should give or receive inoculation without a certificate of permission from the local authorities and set forth the general conditions necessary for the isolation of inoculated persons so that they should not be a menace to their fellows. In May 1760 it was provided that the selectmen in any town should not grant permission for inoculation without the authorization of a vote in town meeting; while in 1761 the practice was entirely prohibited on the ground that

notwithstanding all the provision that hath already been made for preventing the spreading of the small-pox or other contagious disease and for preservation of the inhabitants from such infections and for the well regulating and ordering such persons as have been desirous of going into the practice of being inoculated in order to receive the small-pox, it is manifest that the infection hath spread in many instances from the places where such practice hath been carried on, which hath greatly terrified many of the inhabitants of this Colony, and if such practice should be continued would much endanger the people and create great disquietude.

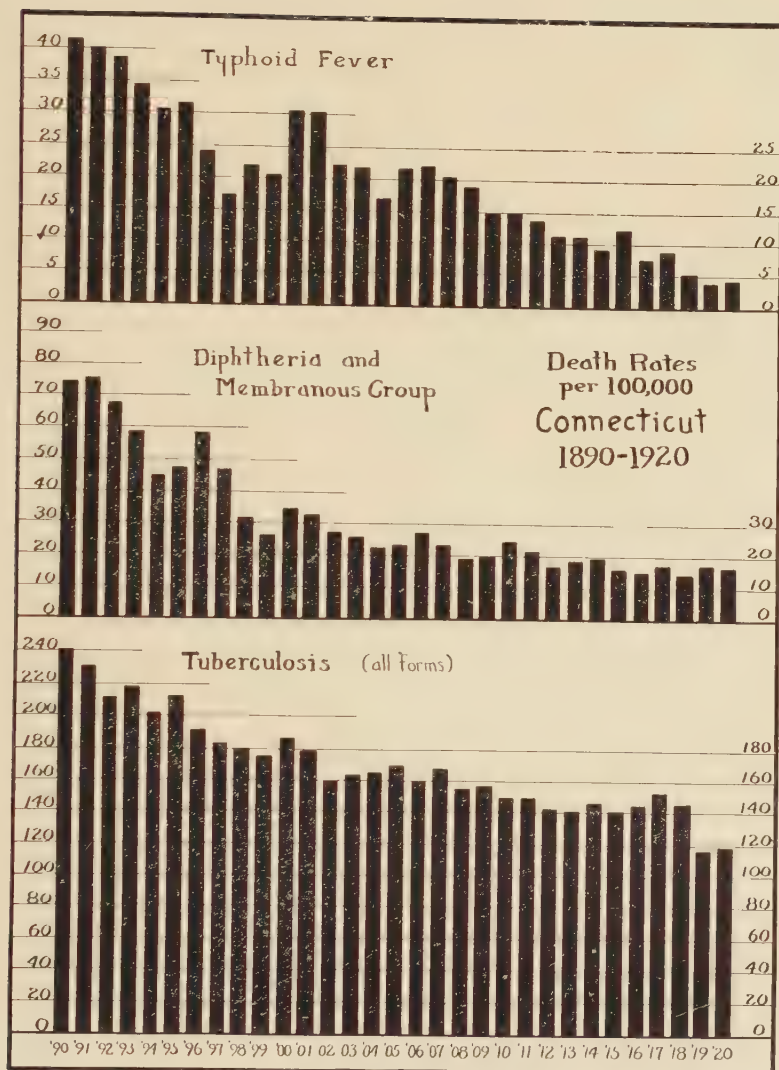
Furthermore in view of the fact that "such practice may be carried on in such secret and clandestine manner

that full proof thereof in the ordinary method cannot always be had" the extraordinarily drastic provision was added that "whensoever any person or persons shall be brought to tryal on complaint made against such person or persons for being guilty of the breach of this act, such person or persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty, altho' the complainant shall not be able to produce any other proof than to render it probable that such person or persons have lately had the small-pox, except such person or persons shall make oath before the court before whom such person or persons are on tryal, that he or they have not voluntarily, directly or indirectly, given nor received said infection, either by inoculation or any other way or means whatsoever; which oath the said court are hereby impowered to administer."

This law was reenacted eight separate times for specified periods and was finally made permanent in May 1769. Specific exemptions were made from time to time but this rigorous prohibition remained on the statute books of Connecticut until the revision of 1875, in spite of the fact that with the discovery of vaccination inoculation had of course fallen into complete disuse.

There is but one other important piece of health legislation in the records of Colonial Connecticut and this is an act of considerable interest at the present time (1924) when a special Grand Jury is sitting at Hartford to consider the gross abuses of medical practice which have arisen within the State. It appears in the Public Records under date of October 14, 1773 and deals with the current problems of quackery in the following terms:

Whereas the practice of mountebanks in dealing out and administering physick and medicine of unknown composition indiscriminately to any persons whom they can by fair words induce to pur-



SOME RECORDS OF PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRESS IN CONNECTICUT

chase and receive them without duly consulting, or opportunity of duly consulting, and considering the nature and symptoms of the disorder for which, and the constitution and circumstances of the patient or receiver to whom they administer, has a tendency to injure and destroy the health, constitution and lives of those who receive and use such medicines: And whereas the practice of mountebanks in publickly advertising and giving notice of their skill and ability to cure diseases, and the erecting publick stages and places from whence to declaim to and harrangue the people on the virtue and efficacy of their medicines, or to exhibit by themselves or their dependants any plays, tricks, juggling or unprofitable feats of uncommon dexterity and agility of body, tends to draw together great numbers of people, to the corruption of manners, promoting of idleness, and the detriment of good order and religion, as well as to tempt and ensnare them to purchase such unwholesome and oftentimes dangerous drugs:

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That no mountebank, or person whatsoever under him, shall exhibit or cause to be exhibited on any publick stage or place whatsoever within this Colony, any games, tricks, plays, juggling or feats of uncommon dexterity and agility of body, tending to no good and useful purposes, but tending to collect together numbers of spectators, and gratify vain or useless curiosity. Nor shall any mountebank, or person whatsoever under him, at or on any such stage or place offer, vend or otherwise dispose of, or invite any persons so collected to purchase or receive any physick, drugs or medicines, commended to be efficacious and useful in various disorders.

3. LEGISLATIVE PROVISION FOR TOWN AND CITY BOARDS OF HEALTH 1794-1878

It will be recalled that as early as 1666 the General Court had commended and left to the magistrates the question of port quarantine; but local authorities during the Colonial period had apparently acted only in the face of immediate emergencies and with no conception of the possible value of a continuing health organization. The inception of the idea of a permanent board of health dates

from the early days of the Republic and is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century,—although the organizations thus created did not really become vital until a still later period.

Dr. Thomas Miner³ says, "The exemption from widespread and mortal epidemic during the period from the Revolutionary War to about 1805 was so great that many physicians passed the whole term of their practice, and scarcely met with a single well marked original typhoid disease. Typhus fever (meaning of course what we call typhoid) and pneumonia typhoides either as epidemic or endemic, were known to our ancestors, the latter under the name of malignant pleurisy, but for nearly half a century they did not prevail except in some very limited districts."

In 1794, however, there was an outbreak of yellow fever at New Haven which led to important results. The first case occurred on June 10 in the person of a woman living on Long Wharf and there were altogether in the neighborhood of 160 cases and 64 deaths most of them in the immediate vicinity of the water front. It is clear with our present knowledge that the infection was introduced on a sloop from Martinique, but Noah Webster, lexicographer and author of one of Connecticut's most famous contributions to epidemiology⁴ maintained that the cause lay in the decay of masses of material from the cleaning of a boat load of shad with adjacent accumulations of decayed clams and damaged pickled codfish. This view was apparently entertained at the time for in December of the same year it was voted in town meeting, "That the selectmen chosen this day be a Committee for the purpose

³Essays on Fevers and Other Medical Subjects. 1823.

⁴Webster, N. A Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases. Hartford, 1799, Vol. I, pp. 9-23, Vol. II, pp. 135-213.

of examining all the houses and places where any epidemic sickness has been in this town, the year past, and to inform themselves whether they have been thoroughly cleansed, and whenever they shall find that the cleansing has been in any respect neglected, they are to cause such houses to be thoroughly cleansed." So far as the author is aware this is not only the first record of a sanitary survey in Connecticut but also the first recognition in the state records of general sanitation as a factor in the control of epidemic disease.

It was apparently through the influence of this experience at New Haven that in 1795 an act was passed by the Legislature which gave unlimited power to the selectmen of any town, wherever contagious diseases should be prevalent to make specific regulations for the protection of the public health. This was still legislation directed toward emergencies; but in 1805 a very important step was taken in providing that the civil authority and the selectmen in each of the several towns should constitute a Board of Health with broad and general powers for the continuing control of all sorts of conditions affecting health. Reporting of communicable disease by physicians was provided for and the Boards of Health were empowered to examine into all nuisances and such sources of filth as might be injurious to health.

This act of 1805 remained the basic health law of the State for nearly a century. As it appears in the revised statutes of 1821, it gave power to the board of health (as constituted above) "to exercise all power and authority, necessary and proper, for the prevention of, and of the spread of, malignant, contagious, or infectious disease." The members of the board were empowered to appoint "their president, and such health officers, or health com-

mittees as they may deem expedient." It was their duty "to cause to be removed all filth of any kind whatever," "whenever, in the judgment of such board, such filth shall endanger the lives or health of the inhabitants." They were specifically empowered to frame rules and regulations and to give orders "to prevent the aforesaid nuisances or sources of filth." They were to enforce quarantine, and cleansing of vessels according to the practices of the time and could interdict communication between their own town and any other town in which contagious disease prevailed. Physicians were to make daily or weekly report of cases of contagious disease whenever requested by the board. Persons suspected of having been exposed to smallpox or other contagious disease could be quarantined. Inoculation was prohibited except by permission of the board of health and the boards were specifically authorized and empowered to adopt measures for the general vaccination of the inhabitants of their respective towns at the public expense.

It is of interest to note that in the revision of 1828 this provision in regard to vaccination was made mandatory in the following terms: "That the boards of health in the several towns, shall, in the months of September or October next, adopt suitable measures for the vaccination of all the inhabitants of their respective towns, in such way as they shall deem proper and necessary, to prevent the introduction, or to arrest the progress of the smallpox; and to defray the expenses of such vaccination out of the public treasury of the town." Any person refusing to be vaccinated or to allow children or other persons under his control to be vaccinated was subject to a fine of five dollars unless "a physician employed by

the board of health should certify that vaccination would not be prudent on account of sickness."

In the 1875 revision of the statutes there appears a new form of broader phraseology according to which the board of health should have "all the power necessary and proper for preserving the public health and preventing the spread of malignant disease." Shortly thereafter it was made possible to increase the personnel of the Boards of Health by the addition of such reputable physicians as might be chosen by the justices of the peace and selectmen.

All this sounds very well on paper but as a matter of fact it appears that the actual activities of these unwieldy boards of health, made up for the most part of the whole local civil authority, were limited in the extreme. Thus in New Haven the Board of Health was organized in March 1806; but "being a body of over 60 members it seldom met but once or twice a year. There was, however, a Health Committee appointed annually, which met occasionally, but did very little business."⁵ Dr. C. P. Botsford, Superintendent of Health of Hartford, writes:

"Hartford was incorporated as a city in 1784. On September 26, 1796 an ordinance was adopted providing a Health Committee of not more than ten persons. This Committee was appointed annually by the Court of Common Counsel, and apparently it became customary to reappoint the same persons over quite long periods. The majority and at times all of the Committee were physicians.

"I have been able to find no records of the Committee's organization or activities. Conversation with older physicians, however, leads me to believe that one member of

⁵Monthly Bulletin, Department of Health, New Haven, Conn., Feb., 1917.

the Committee was usually made the executive and acted as Health Officer."

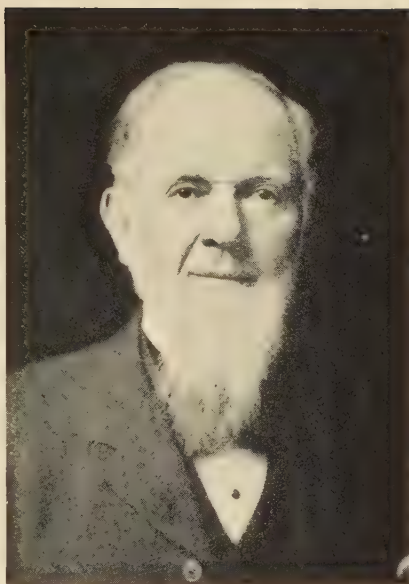
New Haven was apparently the first city in the state to possess a real Department of Health organized as a definite and independent branch of the city government in 1872. This new board included the mayor and two ex-mayors, Professor W. H. Brewer of Yale, Dr. H. A. Carrington who was its first Health Officer and Dr. C. A. Lindsley who later succeeded him in that position. The creation of active health departments along this line in the other cities of the State awaited the stimulating influence of the State Board of Health, to be created at the end of the decade in question.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH 1878-1917

The first State Board of Health in the United States was that of Massachusetts, organized in 1869, and almost immediately thereafter the American Medical Association, inspired particularly by Dr. T. M. Logan, began a vigorous campaign for the creation of such boards in other states. During the period between 1870 and 1878 twelve states (most of them in the South and West) followed Massachusetts in this important step for the promotion of the public health. In 1872 the desirability of organizing a state board of health in Connecticut had been urged at the meeting of the State Medical Society by De Forest, while in 1873 Carrington presented the draft of a proposed act for the purpose and secured the endorsement of the plan by the society. At the 1874 session of the Legislature a committee was appointed to consider the project including in its membership General F. A. Walker, then a professor at the Sheffield Scientific



JOHN TORRINGTON BLACK, M.D.
Secretary State Board of Health, 1916-
1917. Commissioner of Health, 1917-
1922.



CHARLES AUGUSTUS LINDSLEY, M.D.
Secretary State Board of Health,
1884-1906.



INFANT WELFARE CLINIC UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE VISITING NURSE ASSOCIATION
OF NEW HAVEN.

School, Professor W. H. Brewer, and Dr. C. A. Lindsley, which reported favorably in 1875 with a draft of an act. The measure was laid over without favorable action. In January 1878 the Judiciary Committee again reported adversely on the bill, but when the Legislature reconvened for a few days of unfinished business in March the matter was vigorously urged by Dr. Nathan Mayer of Hartford and championed by Hon. John Houston of Enfield who finally secured its passage.

The first State Board of Health, thus organized in 1878, included in its membership that brilliant universal genius Professor Brewer and Dr. C. A. Lindsley, while Dr. C. W. Chamberlain was its first secretary and executive officer, — to be succeeded on his death in 1884 by Dr. Lindsley. Lindsley in his turn served for over twenty-one years and was followed by Dr. J. H. Townsend who acted as secretary from 1906 to 1916. The history of the old Connecticut State Board of Health as it existed up to 1917 was therefore in large degree the expression of the devotion and public spirit of these three men, Chamberlain, Lindsley and Townsend, working under the general direction of the members of the board itself among whom Dr. E. K. Root was for many years preeminent for zeal and wisdom.

During the years of Dr. Lindsley's incumbency the Board held its meetings in his attic in New Haven and from this humble seat of authority the Secretary directed his efforts, first and foremost, toward an improvement of the registration of vital statistics which duty occupied an important place in the law creating the State Board. When the Board was organized the statistics collected by local authorities were of no practical value except in a

few of the larger cities, but so effective was the work of Chamberlain and Lindsley that Connecticut was soon recognized as a pioneer in statistical practise and was admitted to the Registration Area in 1890.

A second field in which the State Board did important work was that of water supply and stream pollution. Professor Brewer contributed a notable discussion of this subject to the first Annual Report of the Board in 1878 and thereafter work along this line was systematically carried forward, the chemical work being directed by Professors S. W. Williston and H. E. Smith of Yale. The Annual Reports of the Board are also enriched by epidemiological studies of the first importance. Many of them, like the reports on milk-borne typhoid at Waterbury in 1890 and at Stamford in 1895 were contributed by Dr. Smith; while the investigation of the typhoid epidemic at Middletown in 1894 by Professor H. W. Conn was the first conclusive demonstration of the part played by shellfish in the dissemination of disease.

In the year 1905 the Legislature authorized the establishment of a state laboratory for the diagnosis of tuberculosis, typhoid fever and diphtheria and in the following year the work of water analysis, previously carried on by a special Rivers Pollution Board, was turned over to the Board of Health. The work was admirably organized by Professor Conn at Wesleyan University where it remained until his untimely death in 1917. The laboratory was located in New Haven under the able direction of Dr. C. J. Bartlett from 1917 to 1924, when it was removed to Hartford

When Dr. C. V. Chapin made a comprehensive survey of all the state health departments of the United States

in 1916⁷ the Connecticut board stood fifteenth in the list with a rating of 393 points out of a possible thousand. Its work in the supervision of local health officers, in the control of communicable disease, in child hygiene, in general sanitation and in education was but slightly developed. The things it had done, however, in laboratory diagnosis, in vital statistics and in the control of water and sewage, received scores close to the maximum.

In the control of tuberculosis Connecticut had also attained a highly creditable record, although the work had been carried forward through special machinery separate from the State Board of Health. The Gaylord Farm Sanatorium was established in 1903 under the brilliant leadership of Dr. D. R. Lyman chiefly through private gifts though with some state aid. In 1907 Governor Woodruff appointed a special commission to study this problem and in 1909 the State Tuberculosis Commission was appointed to take charge of the campaign which has now given us five admirably organized state sanatoria for the treatment of the tuberculous.

Meanwhile local health work was also growing apace. The activity of city and town boards of health had been little more than nominal so long as they consisted of the whole body of justices of peace and selectmen, even with the addition of certain reputable physicians. We have seen that as early as 1872 New Haven organized a small expert Department of Health but in most, even of the larger, cities this step was not taken until the early eighties and very largely under the stimulating influence of the new State Board of Health. Thus a really effective

⁷C. V. Chapin. A Report on State Public Health Work. American Medical Association, Chicago.

board of health was organized in Hartford and Waterbury only in 1885.

In 1887 a new law was passed which made the appointment of a health officer or special health committee mandatory instead of permissive and provided that where this requirement was not complied with the State Board of Health could appoint any reputable physician with full power to serve as local health officer.

In 1893 a striking innovation was introduced, in the creation by the Legislature of a group of county health officers who must be lawyers and who, in addition to their primary function as prosecuting officers, were to appoint local health officers throughout the State and to co-operate with and supervise them in their activity. The county health officers were appointed by the judges of the Superior Court. With the development of public health work along lines in which legal compulsion plays only an insignificant part it seems illogical to create such machinery independent of the State Board of Health, and under legal rather than medical auspices, to direct the constructive educational and clinical service of modern health departments. In practice, however, the plan has not worked badly, since the county health officers have in recent years cooperated so cordially with the state department of health as to be of very real service in the common cause.

5. THE REORGANIZED STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH 1917-1924

The organization of the Connecticut State Board of Health was well adapted to the conception of preventive medicine which prevailed in 1878; but during the next thirty-five years the possibilities of organized health pro-

motion developed very rapidly. It became clear that an effective state health organization should involve the power to formulate a state-wide sanitary code and should provide a considerable group of experts in different fields of public health, working under the direction of a responsible executive for the stimulation and coordination of local health activities. The reorganization of the New York State Department of Health in the spring of 1914 furnished a model and an inspiration for progress along these lines, and as early as June of that year a conference was called in Greenwich to consider the need for reform in Connecticut.⁸ This movement led to the appointment in 1915 of a special legislative commission under the chairmanship of Dr. W. H. Carmalt which promptly reported in favor of the creation of a group of four Sanitary Supervisors to be appointed by the State Department of Health; but the Legislature took no action in the matter. The Connecticut Research Association, however, organized in Greenwich continued its agitation. The State Board of Health itself in its report for the year ending September 1916 urged that it be given the power to formulate a sanitary code and appropriation for an adequate expert staff. The newly organized department of public health of the Yale Medical School took an active part in the campaign. The political leaders of the State were at last aroused. Governor Marcus H. Holcomb in his inaugural message dealt with the problem in the following terms:

The infantile paralysis outbreak of last summer and the widespread smallpox epidemic with which we are now threatened, have emphasized the urgent need of more adequate organization for the protection of the health of our citizens. Modern health science is

⁸The Connecticut Research Association. Bureau of Public Health. First Annual Report, 1914-1915, Greenwich, Conn.

in a position to yield large and tangible results in the saving of human lives. The cities of Connecticut are for the most part well protected, but the residents in our rural communities are too often unable to secure the benefit of the best modern knowledge and the most efficient sanitary administration.

What is needed is the reorganization of our state health machinery so that the state board of health may be strengthened and placed in a position to furnish to the local health officer the advice and the moral support which he needs. I urge earnest consideration of this question, with a view to a remodeling of our state health laws and that you make an appropriation for the state board of health sufficient to give our state a health administration adequate for modern needs.

On May 16, 1917 an act was finally approved replacing the old Board of Health by a State Department of Health. The administrative work of the department was placed under the direction of a responsible Commissioner of Health appointed by the Governor, while a Public Health Council was created with power to formulate a state-wide sanitary code. It is also provided that cities, boroughs or towns may consolidate for the appointment of a health officer and the Commissioner of Health is given "authority over health officials and may for cause and with the consent of the Council remove any local health official," subject to court appeal.

Under this admirable law Dr. John T. Black who had succeeded Dr. Townsend as secretary of the State Board in 1916 was made Commissioner of Health, while the first Public Health Council included Dr. E. K. Root and Mr. Lewis Sperry of the old Board, Dr. Walter H. Brown, Mr. J. Frederick Jackson, Mr. J. A. Newlands and Professor C.-E. A. Winslow of the Yale Medical School. Dr. Black remained Commissioner of Health until his resignation in the fall of 1922, when he was succeeded by the present incumbent, Dr. Stanley H. Osborn, and Dr.

Black's administration will always be memorable for the extraordinary expansion of the department which took place during its course. The appropriation for the State Board of Health of Connecticut during its first year (1878) was \$3,000. By 1915 its annual appropriation had grown only to \$22,000; but between 1915 and 1919 it increased to \$148,000,—largely, of course, as a result of the stimulus of war conditions.

The newly organized department was, at its creation, confronted by the grave sanitary problems created by the war involving the protection on the one hand of the naval and military encampments and on the other of the munition and other essential industries throughout the State. A year later it was faced, in the influenza epidemic of 1918, with the gravest menace that has threatened Connecticut since Colonial times. Since accurate statistical records began in 1885 the only monthly mortality rate recorded which exceeded 30 per 1,000 (on an annual basis) was 30.6 for January 1892 in the midst of the last great pandemic of influenza; while for October 1918 the rate was 63.9. Our knowledge of this dread disease is still so deficient that little could be done except to provide care for the sick. In connection with other infections whose nature is better understood, such as typhoid fever and diphtheria, the development of the bureau of preventable diseases of the State Department of Health has been fruitful of most significant results.

In the field of sanitary engineering the new department has also been able to render notable service by providing expert advice in regard to water supply and sewage disposal problems of the most diverse kinds. In 1917 an Industrial Wastes Board was created which included the members of the Public Health Council and which carried

out and published in 1921 the most important studies ever conducted in Connecticut in regard to stream pollution.

In 1918, as a result of the Federal aid granted under the Chamberlain-Kahn Act, an active campaign was initiated against venereal disease and the clinics developed in various cities under the supervision of the state department have proved of invaluable service and have been continued on a practically undiminished scale since the Federal appropriation ceased.

A vigorous program for the development of child hygiene and public health nursing was initiated by the state department in 1919 in continuance of the efforts of the Women's Committee of the State Council of National Defense during the war. It is of peculiar interest to note that in this field, as in that of venereal disease, inestimable gains in civilian health administration resulted from the awakening of interest in health conservation during the military crisis. The work was later aided by Federal grants under the Sheppard-Towner Act but is now supported by the State alone. In 1923 the importance of the development of public health nursing was recognized by creating a special bureau for this work, hitherto combined with that of child hygiene.⁹ The development of public health nursing in certain of the larger cities of the State has been for some years most notable. The Visiting Nurse Association of New Haven in particular is recognized as one of the finest organizations of its type in the country. Through state initiative rapid progress has now been

⁹The act of 1923 provided that the state department of health should maintain laboratories and bureaus of vital statistics, preventable diseases, sanitary engineering, child hygiene, public health nursing and public health instruction.



REUNION OF OLD PATIENTS, BEEBE MEMORIAL BUILDING, GAYLORD FARM SANATORIUM, WALLINGFORD

made along similar lines in smaller communities throughout the State.

Another field in which Connecticut has played the part of a pioneer is that of Mental Hygiene. Through the initiative of Clifford W. Beers the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, the first organization of its kind in the world, was organized in 1908, and this society is still functioning actively and efficiently. In 1920 the State Department of Health organized a Division of Mental Hygiene in its Bureau of Preventable Diseases.

In the important field of Industrial Hygiene the Legislature of 1923 laid the basis for important progress in the future by transferring the reporting of industrial diseases from the State Board of Labor and Industry to the State Department of Health, a step recommended by Commissioner Black in 1918.

In outlining the history of any great social movement in a state it is natural to dwell upon those measures which have been of obvious state-wide application. In public health, however, the major portion of the work must be performed by local authorities. The functions of the State Board of Health are, and should be, in the main stimulating and advisory. The actual force in health promotion is the town or city health department. The most important progress after all is therefore the progress which has been made in the development of these local boards. Special mention must be made of the gradual strengthening of health work under the long and devoted service of Dr. F. W. Wright (1889-1923) and his successor Dr. J. L. Rice in New Haven and of Dr. C. P. Botsford in Hartford (1907 to date); while the growth of the Bridgeport department under Dr. W. H. Brown (1916-1920) and his successor Dr. W. H. Coon has been

phenomenal. The Anna M. R. Lauder Department of Public Health in the Yale Medical School has, since its creation in 1915, striven to prove of assistance in the development of local health work throughout the state; and has conducted health surveys and prepared programs for reorganization of health services in New Haven, Hartford, Middletown, Westport and Manchester.

The results of the public health activities which have been outlined are writ large in the vital statistics of the State. Between 1890 and 1920 the death rate from tuberculosis fell from 241 per 100,000 to 118; the diphtheria rate fell from 75 to 17; the typhoid fever rate from 42 to 4. One-half the burden of tuberculosis, three-fourths of the burden of diphtheria, and nine-tenths of the burden of typhoid fever has been lifted in a period of thirty years. The general death rate from all causes has fallen from 1860 per 100,000 in 1890 to 1360 in 1920, which is equivalent to the saving of over 7,000 lives in the state each year. As Governor Holcomb said in his message of 1917, "Modern health science is in position to yield large and tangible results in the saving of human lives." It has yielded such results in the past and it will bring to the State of Connecticut even richer benefits in the future.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND RECORDS

BY GEORGE SEYMOUR GODARD

State Librarian, Connecticut; born Granby, Conn., June 17, 1865; son Harvy and Sabra Lavinia (Beach) Godard; A. B., Wesleyan University, 1892; B. D., Yale, 1895; (Hon. M. A., Wesleyan, 1916, Trinity, 1919); married Kate Estelle Dewey, of Granby, June 23, 1897. Graduated Wilbraham Academy, 1886; taught school in Granby, 1882-1883; assistant librarian, 1898-1900, librarian since 1900, Connecticut State Library; editor Connecticut State Records since 1901; trustee Wilbraham Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., 1906-1919; member council A. L. A., 1906-1912 and chairman committee on public documents, 1908-1919; president National Association State Libraries, 1904-1905, Connecticut Library Association, 1906-1907, American Association Law Libraries, 1909-1911; chairman joint committee of National Association State Libraries and American Association Law Libraries, on a national legislative information service, since 1909; member American Library Institute; member American Historical Association (committee public archives), Connecticut Historical Society; historian Connecticut Society Founders and Patriots America 1916-1918; governor, 1923-1925; vice-president N. E. Historical and Genealogical Society, since 1916; member Wesleyan University Alumni Council, 1917-1919; in charge Connecticut State Military Census, since 1917; chairman committee on historical records, Connecticut State Council Defense, 1918-1919; director Connecticut Department War Records, since 1919; custodian Connecticut State Library and Supreme Court Building, since 1910; member board of trustees of Wesleyan University, since 1919, secretary of board, 1920; president Connecticut Congregational Club, 1920-1921; president Jeremiah Wadsworth Branch, Connecticut Society Sons American Revolution, 1920-1922; member Executive Committee American Library Association, 1921-1924; chairman Conference of Historical and Patriotic Societies, American Historical Association, 1920-1921; president Connecticut Congregational Club, 1921-1922; president Hartford Get Together Club, 1922-1923; governor Connecticut Founders and Patriots of America, 1923-1925; member Board of Managers Connecticut Society Sons American Revolution, 1920; president Board of Directors Frederick H. Cossitt Library, Granby; incorporator and trustee Hartford Veterans Camp Fund, 1923; Congregationalist. Home, 350 Blue Hills Avenue. Office, State Library, Hartford, Conn.

TOWN HISTORY

WHAT man, woman or child does not like to hear a good story? From the earliest times story telling has been one of the entertaining, inspiring and instructive gifts of man. Whether in the form of narrative, song or monument, the story has always exerted a great influence on the lives of individuals, families, communities, states, nations, races and the world. From the time when we first heard "This little pig went to market, This little pig stayed at home," we have been interested in the story of what someone has done. It is the story of the life and achievement of someone or something, sometime, somewhere, whether told in simple words as a nursery rhyme or in the large modern volumes of up-to-the-minute critical histories which encourage us and lead us onward and upward.

As children we were not only entertained by the nursery rhymes and fairy tales told to us but we really believed they were true. How vivid and impressive were many of these stories. Who can forget the interest in and the impression made by the story of Jack and the Beanstalk. How sorry we felt for Jack's poor mother. How that beanstalk did grow. How we, in our minds, watched Jack climb up and up and up, away out of sight, and then in our imagination witnessed all that followed.

But the time came when we began to think and we began to ask, "Is that true? Did Jack really sell his mother's cow? Did that beanstalk really grow so fast and so high? Did Jack really kill that old giant?" Even now many of us hear his "Fee fi fo fum," although it lacks the thrill of our earlier days.

Every one admires a hero and wants to know what he

has done. But if perchance the hero or heroine is one of "our own folks" either by blood or marriage or a native or resident of our town or our state, the deeds recited, the works accomplished, and the stories told are all the more welcome to us. They are eagerly told to our children, to be just as eagerly told, or perhaps more so, by them to their children. But the time will come and that only too soon, when someone will begin to think, and ask, "Is that true? Did Mr. Smith's ancestors come over in the Mayflower? Did they journey through the wilderness to Hartford with Hooker? Were they among the early proprietors or patentees of Connecticut, New England, or in fact of any of the colonies? Did Putnam really go to the Battle of Bunker Hill?"

That is, the time will come when mere tradition must not only be questioned but unsupported by sufficient evidence it must fall. Moreover, what has just been observed concerning fairy tales, nursery rhymes and family tradition of individuals is also true in connection with traditional history of towns, counties, states and nations. To stand the scrutiny of time, the stories, the narratives, the histories of life and development of individuals or nations must be corroborated and supported by the evidence to be found only in original, or, if necessary, in secondary sources. It is just here that the real work of our patriotic societies, our libraries, and our historical societies must come in, for it is the province of the libraries and societies—whether state or local—to ascertain, locate, and so far as necessary and possible secure such sources of evidence, both original and secondary, as are still extant. We can easily see that each state, each town, and each locality is practically a problem by itself, so far as its local history is concerned.

As there is no common standard among our several states, counties and towns as regards age, territory, population, wealth, industries, or other activities, but only a few fundamental lines, so we can expect no common standard of work among our several libraries and patriotic and historical societies beyond a few fundamental lines. But all patriotic societies and historical libraries, national, state or local, whether bearing the name of patriotic societies or historical libraries or public libraries, if they are doing the work of patriotic societies and historical libraries should be virtually interested in the preservation of the original and secondary sources for historical work in their several localities.

By *original* sources I mean all material which has descended from the period which is under consideration. These original sources may be written or printed, public or private, buildings, implements, or other handiwork of that age or section. The authors of many of our standard histories relating to earlier days had accessible original records, materials, objects, and other essential data relating to the early times with which they were dealing, which may not be accessible to us in these latter days. Hence we are dependent for our information upon the histories which they wrote.

By *secondary* sources I mean historical works, such as just described, based upon the original sources. Secondary sources are to be used only when the original sources have either disappeared or are not accessible.

In order that we may realize something of the material we should seek to secure for our historical societies or libraries as a basis for someone to write a good history of a locality sometime, let us for a moment glance through some first class local or town history and

note what topics have been emphasized in its several chapters. We may thus the better observe what the requisites for a good local history are.

While no hard and fast rules can be prescribed, usually we may expect to find in every local history one or more chapters dealing with the following ten leading topics, which in turn should be made accessible by a complete and systematic index. The ten headings usually found are: 1. Geography, 2. Antiquities, 3. Pioneer White Settlements, 4. Political Affairs, 5. Industries and Commerce, 6. Religious and Social Progress, 7. Education, 8. Foreign Born Settlers, 9. Military History, 10. Bibliography.

An historian, having secured his material and having carefully digested it, has concisely stated the results of his investigations and arranged them in logical sequence in chapters. In the chapter dealing with geography he has doubtless described the location, size, topography and other physical characteristics of the section as he has been able to ascertain it. So far as possible he has shown in what manner the soil, topography and natural resources, whether mines, forests, fisheries, waterfalls or other agents, have attracted settlers to that locality and influenced the location of settlements. Also to what extent these agencies have determined the present economic and social conditions of the town. Thus the manufacturing communities to be found in the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys of Connecticut are examples of such geographical influences.

In the chapter on antiquities we find, so far as he, our writer, has been able to ascertain the same, the account of the life, customs, work, and other activities of the races or people who occupied the regions prior to its oc-



CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY AND SUPREME COURT BUILDING.

Built of White Barre Granite. Designed by Domn Barber. Sculpture by Piccarelli brothers, mural decoration of Supreme Court Chamber by Albert Herter. Beneath the building are extensive fire and damp-proof vaults for the storage of the State Collections of Documents and Records.

cupation by the whites. The existence of any prehistoric remains, so-called, is carefully noted and their locations fixed. The more important of these ought to be fittingly and permanently marked. Among these we find included the ruins or other evidence of the location of early settlements, rock carvings, trails, fords, hunting grounds, and cemeteries, together with any implements or other evidence of this earlier civilization.

In the chapter on pioneer white settlements the location of the first settlement of whites is located and described and a summary of their early life, experiences, customs and character given. So far as possible also we find here a summary of their records and a brief layout of the early highways and the location of the early homesteads upon the same, together with any special historical incidents which may have occurred thereon.

The chapter on political affairs gives us an account of the organization and incorporation of the town with its villages, boroughs and cities, together with any changes in boundaries. Thus you will remember Vernon was set off from the town of Bolton in 1808, while Bolton itself was incorporated in 1720. Also an account of the rise and progress of the various political parties together with lists of the more important public officials, whether national, state or local. Thus we used to have Whigs, Tories, Federalists, Know Nothings, etc., as well as Democrats and Republicans and other parties still in the making. Here also, under this topic, we find noted the public records relating to this region, and if found in more than one place the location of these records stated with accompanying dates. This is especially important in connection with land and probate records.

We find special stress laid upon industries and com-

merce. All industries are carefully treated and those industries which have been predominant are emphasized. One of the most interesting sections of this chapter is that setting forth the modern industrial evolution which has snuffed out the little shops and mills of former days, and resulted in the present conditions. Vernon, Putnam, Tariffville and Wallingford are striking illustrations of this evolution. We note here also that statistics in brief accompany the account of the growth of trade, and the commercial methods which include the story of the development of highways, turnpikes, canals, railroads, jitneys, and busses—steam, electric and gas. Here we find briefly noted also the story of deserted farms, hotels, mills and shops of various kinds resulting from our modern industrial methods. In some localities we find turnpikes have become highways; some highways have become byways, and many of these have been given up and are even now impassable and almost forgotten. The long list of commodious and forsaken, but once well-filled and popular hotels along the lines of early stage routes, are silent, but vivid witnesses of the life that used to be in certain localities, and of the apparent death that now is. The automobile is opening up again many of these neglected and overlooked habitations of our fathers.

In the treatment of the chapter upon religious and social progress a summary is given of the founding and growth of churches, charities, public works, reforms and other civic societies and activities.

A general historical account of the school system and possibly also of some, if not all of the several schools, is found in the chapter on education. We find also a list of the public and private libraries and private schools,

academies and colleges in many of our best town histories. Whether lists of teachers, school officers and graduates should be given is determined by the scope of the work.

Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters to be found is that dealing with foreign born settlers. Strange as it may seem, there are certain localities in the West that are more New England today than many towns in New England. As one homestead after another has been given up by the descendants of the early settlers in the East, they have been taken up by the foreign brother of more recent importation, who has come to stay with us and be a part of our civilization. *Our* civilization, did I say? No, not ours as it was, nor yet not theirs as it was; but rather a new one, a new civilization resulting from both.

Military history we find is always popular. We are always anxious to learn what our folks or the soldiers from our section did in this, that or the other campaign. While every town did not have a General Washington or a General Putnam as a son and patron saint, they did have sons who were called from the plough into the service of their country and they did that service just as willingly and just as well. Such service we find here recorded in this chapter on military history, together with the work either accomplished or being done by such organizations as the Mayflower Descendants, Society of the Cincinnati, Colonial Wars, Colonial Dames, Founders and Patriots of America, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Societies of the War of 1812, Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of Veterans, American Legion, the Red Cross and others.

Not the least important part of our local history we will doubtless find is devoted to the chapter on the bibliography of the locality. By this I mean as complete a list as possible of the various newspapers, books, pamphlets, etc., as the author of the town history can compile. The rapid increase in the growth and use of public libraries, both in our country and abroad, has created an increased demand for genealogical and historical items. Thus the sons and daughters of old Connecticut who are now found in every part of the globe, as well as those who remain at home, desire to know more concerning the history of their State, their ancestors, and of themselves. Such a study requires not only a knowledge of what has been written along these lines, but also where the same may be found. What has been written and by whom? What has been printed and by whom? When and where? These are the questions which are being asked concerning your locality and mine and which, as yet, most of us are unable to answer with entire satisfaction.

Such a bibliography of a locality ought therefore to include all printed works relating entirely to that locality, or its subdivisions, or its industries and institutions, including their official publications of the same. This chapter should also contain printed works containing important references to that locality; also lists of genealogies of local families; printed biographies of local men and women; newspapers and periodicals published in that locality; maps relating to this section and its subdivisions; also occasional sermons and addresses dealing with the history of that locality; pictures of important persons and events in the history of the section and the

location of important manuscript material relating to that locality.

I have thus hastily run over the principal imaginary contents of what seems to me to comprise a good local history to recall to our minds what sort of material all of us should be on the lookout to locate and if possible to secure and deposit in a place of safety and accessibility; there to await such time as someone may ask concerning this or that. "Is it true?" At such a time our material, thus slowly collected from many sources, will promptly rise up and answer the questions with an authority which is beyond question.

But someone asks, "Where can we, who are just starting in our locality, find such sources of information as have been mentioned." "This section," he says, "has been skimmed and skimmed and everything of value has been taken and carried away." I agree that doubtless much has been thus collected and carried away from your immediate vicinity, but I think you will find it in Hartford at the State Library, or the Connecticut Historical Society, or in New Haven at Yale University, or the New Haven Colony Historical Society, or at Litchfield, or at Boston, or somewhere else. But it is still yours for service and possibly may be of greater service as a part of a larger collection in which it may form a missing link in the long chain of documents assembled from many other sections. But wherever these items are, they will ever remain at the service of interested investigators and writers. In other words, historical libraries and patriotic societies, whatever their name or nature, have, among others, one common end and purpose which is both a duty and a privilege; viz., whenever possible to rescue from the danger of destruction perish-

ing memorials of past and present life and to bring these several memorials, or a true even though minute specimen of them, to a common center where they may illustrate and enrich each other, then have them so arranged that they are available to the most exacting investigators and the humblest reader.

Libraries and societies differ only in the several lines pursued and territory covered. Therefore our greatest historical collections we naturally expect to find in the large centers of population and education, as at Washington, where the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, the Memorial Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the libraries of the several departments of government are perfect mines of historic material relating to our entire country. At New York where the several historical societies and public libraries have gradually amassed immense collections. At Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Madison, Columbia and other cities where similar collections may be found. In each one of these collections many items are found which are not to be found in the others.

Perhaps there is nothing better for our purpose than the exhibit which usually accompanies an old home week celebration to reveal to a community the really large amount of historical material relating to their section, which is still to be found in private hands, and that too within the radius of a few miles. And for the most part also we will find it has been either overlooked or forgotten by the owners.

Those of us who have visited old home celebration exhibits have been furnished a real treat by the large exhibits made. But the sense of pleasure and surprise which we non-residents experienced in looking over

these collections was not more than that experienced and enjoyed by the residents themselves, for it was as much of a surprise to them as it was to us. What has proven true for these and other similar celebrations will without doubt prove true with many other localities who undertake to observe old home week. Without doubt a most pleasing, surprising and complete exhibition of such material could be easily and quickly assembled in any Connecticut community. Such an exhibit would almost enable us to see the early settlers of any such section moving about as was their custom.

"YENDER GRASS"

BY NIXON WATERMAN

"This world is full of 'yender grass,' " says Deacon Watts to me;
"When I'm a-mowin' in the field, the grass close by," says he,
"Is short and thin and full of weeds; but over yender, why,
It looks to me as if the grass is thick and smooth and high.
But sakes alive! that ain't the case; for, when I mow to where
The grass I saw from far away looked all so smooth and fair,
I find it's jest as short and thin as all the rest, or wuss;
And that's the way the things of earth keep on a-foolin' us!

" 'Bout every day you'll hear some man complainin' of his lot,
And tellin', if he'd had a chance like other people, what
He might have been! He'd like to know how he can ever win
When all the grass that comes his way is all so short and thin.
But over in the neighbors' fields, why, he can plainly see
That they're in clover plumb knee-deep and sweet as sweet can be!
At times it's hard to tell if things are made of gold or brass;
Some men can't see them distant fields are full of 'yender grass.'

"I've learned one thing in makin' hay, and that's to fill my mow '
With any grass that I can get to harvest here and now.
The 'yender grass' that 'way ahead is wavin' in its pride
I find ain't very fillin' by the time it's cut and dried.
Hope springs eternal, so they say, within the human breast;
Man never is, the sayin' goes, but always to be, blest.
So my advice is, Don't you let your present chances pass,
A-thinkin' by and by you'll reap your fill of 'yender grass.' "

Arlington Heights, Mass.

Our busy life has so drawn us to the once distant parts of the earth so frequently that we have unconsciously absorbed something of the spirit, life and civilization of these distant lands, which is being unconsciously more and more incorporated and carried out in the life and architecture of our own cities. One by one the early landmarks of our fathers have been superseded until we have scarcely any suitable memorials and monuments of that early life of those before us. All through our land this same industrial renovation and permeation has been silently and unconsciously modernizing us to such an extent that one is astounded when brought face to face with facts. However, notwithstanding this seemingly almost irrespressible influence, there are a few buildings and spots of historic interest throughout our land which have thus far escaped and have become the pride of their centers and a sort of shrine to the world. Thus Boston has her Faneuil Hall, her Old South Church, her Old State House; Newport has her Old Stone Tower; Philadelphia has her Independence Hall; Hartford has her City Hall, the old Connecticut Bulfinch Capitol, etc. These buildings embodying that architecture, purely Colonial, are not only beautiful in their lines as buildings; but they are beautiful in their history. Centered around and in them have been events which have influenced the history of the world. These buildings therefore, do not nor cannot belong to any one locality; they belong to the early colonies and their descendants now residing in all lands. They are hallowed buildings standing on hallowed ground. What more fitting and appropriate homes and meeting places for historical and patriotic societies and libraries than buildings like these?

From eternity to eternity is a long time. It is and will be studied and understood in proportion as the data for the different periods are preserved and made available. As the writing of history will never end, so the collection of material for historical purposes must never cease. With each generation there is produced histories of the past, based, to be sure, upon the same facts, but interpreted from its own point of view and in the light of its own civilization. Thus, each decade accumulates historical data for the use of those to come.

As the little, musty, ink-stained, quaintly phrased diaries, pamphlets, etc., of Colonial days, so common in their day, and usually destroyed or soon forgotten, are now eagerly sought for by historians, so the everyday State, county, town and city maps and charts, and the pamphlets, broadsides, circulars, which are suddenly and constantly appearing from State, town, church, and lodge officials in every community, only to disappear again almost as quickly, are the very data from which the statesman and historian of the future is to gain his view of our life and interpret our civilization. No one is better qualified and fitted to gather these local records—for like the records of the phonograph they will speak again—than our patriotic societies and historical libraries of the several communities, whose duty it is not only to preserve copies in their own library but transmit copies of the same to the State Library at the Capitol. For here also should be found, as far as possible, whatever is necessary to form a faithful register and mirror of the life and industries of the State.

PROBLEM OF CONNECTICUT RECORDS

The problem of public records and quasi-public records and archives in Connecticut is perhaps somewhat unique, as I am inclined to think some of our methods and work must of necessity be somewhat unique.

I do not need to remind those who read this chapter that Connecticut, often called the "Constitution State," the "Land of Steady Habits," or the "Wooden Nutmeg State," is not only a New England State and one of the thirteen original Colonies, but that some of its settlements had been in existence over one hundred and fifty years at the time of the Federal Constitution. Like the United States, Connecticut grew, developed and flourished.

Our records began in 1636, and were continued with the records of the Connecticut Colony on the Connecticut River organized from the three river towns—Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield—each at first individual. This Colony was organized through the efforts of Thomas Hooker and the Fundamental Orders, adopted January 14, 1638-9, was the first written constitution emanating from a free people which acknowledged no authority over them save that of God.

These Fundamental Orders, formulated by the men of Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, in convention assembled under the direction of Thomas Hooker, are now generally acknowledged, I believe, to be the basis of practically all constitutions governing free peoples, which have been formulated even to this day. When Thomas Hooker stated, "In matters of greater consequence which concern the common good, a general council chosen by all to transact businesses which concern all,



MEMORIAL HALL, STATE LIBRARY.

Looking South, Showing Old Charter of 1662, and Constitution of 1818 in Special Vault, Surmounted by Stuart's Portrait of Washington with Collection of Governors' Portraits on Either Side.

I conceive under favor most suitable to rule and most safe for the relief of the whole," he launched the principles of modern representative government. This fundamental statement of Hooker, surrounded by the seals representing the evolution of the seals of Connecticut, forms the central tablet in the tile floor of our beautiful Memorial Hall in the State Library. From the spacious walls of this room, planned for this purpose, look down the portraits of our several Governors, Stuart's portrait of Washington, and Riley's portrait of Charles II. In especially constructed vaults, also in this room, may be easily seen our historic Charter, our Constitution of 1818 which superseded it and is our present Constitution, the Table on which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, and the remarkable Joseph C. Mitchelson collection of coins, medals, etc., recently presented to the State by this loyal son of Connecticut, a successful merchant in Kansas City, Missouri. The Mitchelson Collection, so far as possible, embodied the official records of former days in gold, silver, bronze, and the baser metals.

In 1644 there was added to the Connecticut Colony the Saybrook Colony through Fenwich, and in 1665 the New Haven Colony was added through the provisions of the Royal Charter of 1662, of Charter Oak fame, granted by King Charles II, the custody of which is in the Connecticut State Library. It was this Charter which granted to Connecticut not only practically an independent government, but an unknown area of territory west to the "Great Sea." The Connecticut School Fund was established from funds received from the sale of the lands of the Connecticut "Western Reserve" in Ohio which Western Reserve was quitclaimed to the

State of Connecticut by the United States when Connecticut quitclaimed its rights to such title as it claimed to have in the balance of the land in this region.

Like the United States, Connecticut has had its many problems, including boundary disputes north, south, east and west, as well as within its borders. It has also had its "Western Lands" with their accompanying problems within its borders and without. Among these the Western Reserve in Ohio, and the Wyoming Valley Region in Pennsylvania, are most conspicuous.

From the "Western Lands" within its immediate bounds additional towns were, from time to time, incorporated by the Connecticut General Assembly, until today the three Connecticut river towns of 1636 are a part of the 169 towns, included in eight counties, each with its own local government consisting of a board of selectmen, town clerk, and other officials, and each represented in the Connecticut General Assembly, our highest legislative body.

In addition to the above, each town, or township, in turn had its several school districts, cemetery associations, and ecclesiastical societies, which societies in many cases were the forerunners of the town (township) government, all having official records and official files. To these should be added again special fire and sewer districts which have from time to time been incorporated within their borders.

In addition to the files and records of our General Assembly and the several counties and towns and their subdivisions, there are the files, records and correspondence of our several Governors, Colonial and State; and the files and records of our several State Departments. To all of these there should be added the files and rec-

ords of our Supreme Court of Errors, the several County Courts,—Superior and Inferior—City, Town and Borough Courts, Justices Courts, and those of the earlier courts which they superseded; and finally the original files and records of the 115 Probate Districts, among which our 169 towns are divided.

In addition, if you will add to these the mass of records, files and correspondence in which Connecticut has been associated with the mother country, and other countries abroad in Colonial days, and with the Federal Government, the several States, and various other movements since, we have a glimpse of the public archives situation in Connecticut.

This in brief is the public records and archives situation and problem in Connecticut, which we believe is being gradually and successfully solved through the gradual voluntary assembling in our commodious and specially arranged and equipped State Library Building, those official files and records not in current use.

The fact that the laws which have been enacted from time to time as opportunity offered, under which these records are being centralized, arranged, indexed, and bound where necessary, are permissive, in nearly every case, rather than mandatory, both for the public official to deposit and for the State Librarian to receive, results in the best of feeling and heartiest co-operation between all parties concerned. This is the hearty co-operating and good feeling which I intended to emphasize when I began this article with a brief statement of the present activities of the Connecticut State Library. Whether our laws, facilities and methods are the best for other states, where conditions are different, I take no issue. They do seem to meet our conditions and our require-

ments in Connecticut in a surprisingly satisfactory manner.

PROGRESS OF LEGISLATION RELATING TO PUBLIC RECORDS

Connecticut began to take notice of the value of her early records and files at an early date, for in 1770 the General Assembly appointed two agents, one of them the son of Governor Trumbull, to collect "all public and other papers relating to the affairs of this Colony which properly belong to the Colony, in whose custody soever the same may be found, except those in the hands of his honor, the present Governor," and in 1771 the General Assembly of Connecticut desired Governor Jonathan Trumbull, then Governor, "To collect all the public letters and papers which may hereafter in any way affect the interests of this Colony." These two acts of the Connecticut General Assembly aimed to bring together those official documents prior to 1770 which remained in the hands of the holders of office and their successors and families, as it had been the prevailing usage of public officials to retain papers relating to their official acts. The request made to Governor Trumbull aimed to prevent that practice in the future and bring back to the State any such official papers which might have found their way into private hands.

It was the papers collected under these two provisions which in 1795 were presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which in May, 1845, the Connecticut Legislature, by official act, tried to secure from the Massachusetts Historical Society and failed.

In 1849 Connecticut provided for the editing and publication of her Colonial Records from the earliest period

to the time of the Charter, 1662, and appointed J. Hammond Trumbull, our first regular, full time, State librarian, as the editor, who published Volumes 1 to 3, 1636–1689. It then authorized his successor, the late Charles J. Hoadly, who continued the Colonial Records to 1776, and later authorized him to publish the State Records from 1776 to 1789. He edited Connecticut Colonial Records Vols. 4 to 15—1689 to 1776—and Connecticut State Records, Vols. 1 and 2—1776 to 1780. Upon the death of Dr. Hoadly in October, 1900, after a service of 45 years, as State librarian, the present State librarian, —George Seymour Godard—as his successor, was authorized to continue the editing and publication of these State Records to 1789.

It was under this authorization of editing and publishing the Connecticut State Records that the splendid and somewhat unique work of collecting, indexing and binding the Connecticut official records, has been done under the direction of Mr. Godard, for our Committee realized the incompleteness in many ways of the volumes already published, through lack of references and annotations to material extant but not heretofore available, or unknown.

In addition to the publication of the Colonial and State Records, the Journals of the General Assembly, the several Revisions and Compilations of its Laws, the Supreme Court Reports, and Digests of the same, Connecticut authorized the compiling and publishing of a new edition of the Connecticut Special Laws from 1789 to 1880, which was published in eight volumes.

Connecticut early required Clerks of Courts and Town Clerks to have suitable safes or vaults in which to keep their records.

In 1876 provision was made for the fitting celebration in each town, on July Fourth, of the Centennial of the Declaration of American Independence, and directed that suitable sketches of Revolutionary and Centennial History for the several towns be prepared.

In 1886 the Secretary of State and the State librarian were constituted a committee "to make inquiry or to procure the same to be made, in regard to any ancient, Colonial or State records of any courts now or formerly existing; also of any Colonial or State records of any of the territorial organizations now or formerly existing within this State, for the purpose of taking measures for the observation and indexing of State records." This committee formally reported in 1889, and this report is still a standard in this field.

In 1895 the General Assembly directed each town clerk to "examine carefully the Town Records of his Town and make a true copy of all that relates to the Revolutionary War in such records between the year 1774 and the year 1784, inclusive, preserving the original spelling and capitals, and the original form of the record as far as may be . . . and certify, that it is a true copy of the record and mail the same to the State librarian at Hartford. . . . " These copies, so far as they were returned, have been indexed, bound and are now easily available. The following sixty-three towns complied with this law and sent in extracts from town records, relating to the Revolutionary War 1774-1784.

Ashford
Bolton
Branford
Canaan

Canterbury
Chatham
Colchester
Colebrook

Cornwall
Coventry
Danbury
Derby

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| East Haddam | Lyme | Simsbury |
| East Windsor | Mansfield | Southington |
| Enfield | Middletown | Stafford |
| Fairfield | Milford | Stamford |
| Farmington | New Hartford | Stonington |
| Goshen | New London | Stratford |
| Groton | New Milford | Suffield |
| Guilford | Norfolk | Union |
| Hartford | Norwalk | Wallingford |
| Hartland | Norwich | Washington |
| Harwinton | Plainfield | Waterbury |
| Hebron | Pomfret | Watertown |
| Kent | Preston | Wethersfield |
| Killingly | Redding | Winchester |
| Killingworth | Ridgefield | Windham |
| Lebanon | Salisbury | Woodbury |
| Litchfield | Saybrook | Woodstock |

In 1899 the General Assembly appointed a Commission of Public Records "to inquire and report to the next General Assembly the condition of the public records of the State, including the court, county, town, society, and parish records, and recommend to the General Assembly of 1901 the best methods of preserving the same from loss or injury."

In 1903 the General Assembly provided for the appointment of a temporary examiner of public records who was continued in office until 1909. Charles R. Hathaway, as such temporary examiner did excellent work in connection with the public record offices of the State, and in publishing lists of extant court, town and ecclesiastical society records.

In 1911 provision was made for a permanent examiner of public records who should be appointed by the State librarian for an indefinite term. The State librarian appointed to this position General Lucius B. Barbour, who is still in office. To his interests and labors,

with those of his father, General Lucius A. Barbour, in connection with public records, all sons and daughters of Connecticut and their descendants owe much, especially for his remarkable collection of Connecticut Vital Records—recently presented to the State library—now being made quickly and easily accessible.

The official duties of the Connecticut examiner of public records consist not only in seeing that the laws relating to the keeping, care and custody of public records, are respected, but include the examination and selection of standard paper, inks, typewriter ribbons, loose-leaf binders, and methods of indexing for the official Land Records of Connecticut.

In his first report Mr. Barbour, who entered upon his duties as examiner of public records July 5, 1911, confined his attention to the condition of records, vaults and safes in the offices of the several town clerks and judges of probate throughout the State, based upon personal observation during the fifteen months preceding September 30, 1912, during which time he personally visited and inspected each of these offices.

In his second report for the two years ended September 30, 1914, he confined his attention more especially to the erection of new vaults; the purchase of new safes; the installation of metal equipments; the restoration, repairing, binding, copying and publication of records; the depositing in the State Library of official papers not in current use; and the testing of inks and typewrite ribbons, as directed by the General Assembly of 1913.

In his third report for the two years ended September 30, 1916, in addition to the usual items, he has, as required by the General Assembly of 1915, reported upon the progress being made in compiling general indexes to

the land records in the several towns, and specified standard papers for use in the public records of the State. The revised annotated list of Connecticut towns and probate court districts which are printed as appendices to the report will be found of service.

In his fourth, fifth and sixth reports, in addition to the usual items, the Examiner devoted his attention to the subject of loose leaf binders, General Index to Land Records, standard typewriter ribbons, standard inks, standard paper for records, Church and Parish Records, and to the work of copying and indexing the Vital Records of Connecticut.

Public records are a public trust. They are the Log Book of the "Ship of State" in which are recorded the daily activities and progress of the nation, the states and their several divisions and sub-divisions. Public records are necessary to picture to each generation the activities of former generations, not only for the sake of information as such, but also for instruction and guidance for the future.

Archives are the ancestors, relatives and neighbors of public records and are essential to the proper study and fuller understanding of public records.

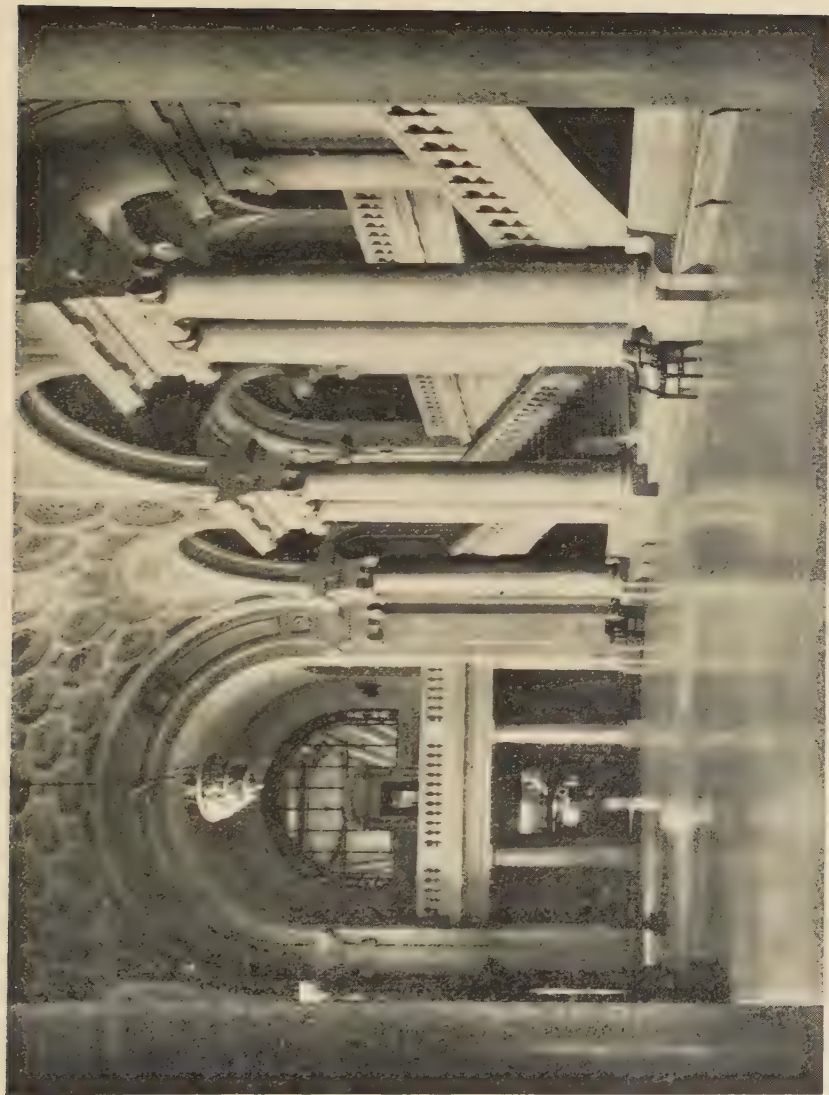
The fact that many of the laws and institutions considered perfectly natural in our day and a necessity are the result of movements by no means popular and almost unthinkable when first suggested, and the fact that the history and development of many of these movements can be found only in the archives and other quasi-public papers is being more and more appreciated by our several states—if not by our national government—and proper provision by law is being made for their care and custody.

It is most gratifying to note the increasing care and interest in this department of state governments dealing with records, and the provisions which are being made by law for the making, care and custody of public records so evident in all parts of the country. More suitable provisions are being made for permanent papers, permanent inks, substantial binders and bindings, adequate indexes, suitable vaults and safes, competent custodians, and more adequate salaries.

In 1909 the following act was proposed to the Connecticut General Assembly and enacted into law. It has proved a model of its kind. Chapter 175 of Public Acts of 1909.

“Any official of the State or of any county or town, or any other official, may turn over to the State librarian, with his consent, for permanent preservation in the State Library, any official books, records, documents, original papers or files, not in current use in his office, taking a receipt therefor, which shall be recorded; and said official may in like manner turn over to the State librarian, with his consent, for use of the State, any printed books, records, documents or reports not in current use in his said office. . . .”

In 1917, through Chapter 136, the General Assembly provided for the depositing in the Connecticut State Library all the files and other official papers relating to the Connecticut State Military Census, the State Council of Defense, and other similar organizations in connection with the World War, at which time our Department of Historical Records, under the State Council of Defense, was established under the direction of the State librarian, which Department the General Assembly of 1919



MAIN LOBBY OF THE CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY AND SUPREME COURT BUILDING, HARTFORD.
Donn Barber, 1871-1925, architect.

created a permanent Department of War Records in the State Library.

At the same session the State Librarian was authorized to locate and permanently identify the graves of all soldiers, sailors and marines, veterans of any war, in which the Colony of Connecticut or the United States of America has been or may be engaged, who are buried within the limits of this State, and provided for the erection of suitable headstones through the office of the Adjutant General.

Under the provisions of these acts the record work of Connecticut, through its State Library, has progressed in a most surprising, pleasing and satisfactory manner. Already the judges of the 67 probate districts have deposited the original files, in their custody, of over 125,000 estates, about 700,000 documents, covering the periods from 1641 down to some of them as late as 1922. Each judge determines, in connection with the State librarian, the periods for which the files shall be sent from his district. There is no uniform period covered in the act.

The judges of the Connecticut Probate Assembly which held its quarterly meeting at the Hartford Club February 11, 1925 (in the forenoon), were welcomed to the State Library in the afternoon by State Librarian George S. Godard. The occasion of the meeting was to show the several judges through the Probate and other vaults and explain to them the method of sorting, repairing, filing, arranging and indexing the several probate papers which have been deposited by sixty-eight different districts in the State covering the period from 1641-1922. The official index covering the several

papers deposited by each of the sixty-eight probate districts known as "Godard's Analytical and Chronological Digest of Connecticut Probate Papers" was delivered to each judge present. This index, as its name indicates, names each estate whose papers have been deposited, alphabetically, and itemizes the kind of papers in the estate. The digest also indexes by date the volumes of official records retained in the office of the judge. The preface of each index is a historical note showing the date of the establishment of the district, what towns are now contained or have been contained within it and for what periods. Thus the Simsbury receipt which is part 52 of the Digest covering the period from 1747-1906 indexes 2,966 estates consisting of 17,272 papers. The district was established from the Hartford District in 1666. In this district may be found the estates of the following towns for varying periods which are mentioned in the note: Barkhamsted, Canton, Colebrook, Granby, Hartland, New Hartford, Simsbury and Winchester. All used to be in the Simsbury district. The judges were also welcomed by Governor Trumbull, who spoke a few words of greeting and emphasized the importance of records and having them accessible.

Before adjourning the Judges passed the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Connecticut Probate Assembly registers its warm endorsement and unqualified approval of the successful efforts of the State librarian to preserve, index and file the original probate documents from the Probate Districts of the State lodged at the State Library under the Act of 1909, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the desire of the State librarian to continue and enlarge this valuable work is respectfully commended to the favorable consideration of the General Assembly.

In 1921, the General Assembly provided that volumes of Land Records and volumes of Probate Records whose condition rendered their continued use by the public, inadvisable, might be deposited in the State Library, provided the State librarian would replace them with a photostat copy substantially bound and certified that it was a true copy of the volume deposited. The same acts provided that certified copies might be issued by the town clerk and judge of Probate from their certified photostat volumes, and by the State librarian from the original volumes deposited in the State Library.

September 17, 1921 marked a new epoch in the care and custody of official records and in the recognition of the provisions Connecticut has made for the care and use of official records in its new State Library and Supreme Court Building, for on this date the Massachusetts Historical Society voluntarily returned to Connecticut the "Trumbull Papers" so closely identified with the early history of the Colony and State of Connecticut, after having had them in its possession one hundred and twenty-six years.

In addition to the above mentioned activities of the Connecticut State Library, to understand the present situation in Connecticut, these activities should be supplemented by the resources, collections, organizations, activities and publications of the Connecticut Historical Society, the Watkinson Library of Reference, the Connecticut Medical Society, the Trinity College Library, and the Hartford Seminary Foundation Libraries, all in Hartford, and, with the exception of the Historical Society,* all in their own buildings; by those of the New

* Provisions made in the wills of the late Charles J. Hoadly and George E. Hoadley, insure the erection of a suitable building in the near future.

Haven Colony Historical Society and the Yale University allied libraries of New Haven, with their own buildings; by those of the New London County Historical Society, and allied libraries of New London, with their buildings; by those of the Bridgeport Scientific and Historical Society of Bridgeport, the Mattatuck Historical Society of Waterbury, the Litchfield Historical Society of Litchfield with their own buildings; the Middlesex County Historical Society, and the Wesleyan University Library of Middletown; also by those of the Winchester Historical Society of Winsted, the Windsor Historical Society at Windsor, the Simsbury Historical Society at Simsbury, the Salisbury Association of Salisbury, and of that remarkable and perhaps unique library, the Pequot Library of Southport, Connecticut.

NEW STATE LIBRARY BUILDING

The attention of the General Assembly of 1903 was called to the overcrowded condition of the State capitol and the need of increased facilities for the various branches of the State departments by Governor Chamberlain in his first message in these words:

"PUBLIC BUILDINGS

"The business of the State has outgrown the capacity of the capitol; many departments are overcrowded; many of the bureaus are without adequate accommodations, and there are not sufficient committee rooms for the convenient transaction of legislative business; every important department of the State should here find ample and convenient accommodation, and I recommend that you take measures to enlarge the present building

in order to provide for both the immediate and future requirements of the public business."

The State Librarian, in his report to the Governor in 1900, called attention to the conditions then prevailing in the State Library, and the need of more extensive and safer accommodations, and again in 1906 ventured the hope in the following words:

"It has been my thought and hope that some provision might be made by the General Assembly of 1907 whereby all the books of the library could be brought together, where the several portraits and paintings could be properly and safely hung, where regularly constructed vaults for invaluable records and papers might be accessible, and where rooms or special apartments for study could be provided and proper provisions made for the development and work of our State library."

That our State Library needed larger accommodations was very evident to the several committees and members of the last General Assembly, who investigated. With its books stored on five different floors of the capitol, and the shelving in the main and adjoining room crowded, it has required no little thought and labor to keep the current and important works easily accessible.

The accommodations, however, which have been provided for the library in the new building are such as to make us overlook the present condition of our quarters.

THE COMMISSION

On November 13, 1903, under the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, approved June 18, 1903, Governor Abiram Chamberlain appointed Morgan G. Bulkeley of Hartford, H. Wales Lines of Meriden, W. O. Burr of Hartford, Charles C. Cook of West Hart-

ford, and L. W. Robinson of New Haven, to be a "commission to make repairs on the capitol and to procure a site for a new building for State officials." (Special Laws XIV, 431.)

Under the authority of a resolution approved June 18, 1905, the above commission was continued, and directed to complete the purchase of land at the corner of Lafayette Street and Capitol Avenue in the city of Hartford. The commission was also directed to procure plans and specifications for the new building, obtain bids for its construction and report to the General Assembly of 1907. (Special Laws XIV, 1096.)

By authority of a resolution approved July 30, 1907, the above commission was again continued, and the Comptroller made a member *ex officio*. This board was directed to secure land, contract for and fully complete and furnish a building suitable for the use of the State as a State Library, Supreme Court room and Memorial hall. It was also directed to fireproof the capitol, and make certain interior alterations. (Special Laws XV, 564.)

With the authority granted by the acts of the General Assembly the commission purchased the lands on which to erect the building authorized, and in a competition, in which six eminent architects selected by the commission were engaged, the plans for this building prepared by Associate Architects Donn Barber of New York and E. T. Hapgood of Hartford were adopted, and Messrs. Barber and Hapgood were chosen architects of the building.

On July 29, 1908, ground was broken for the foundation of this building, the corner-stone of which the commission asked the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of

Connecticut, A. F. & A. M., to lay with the usual ceremonies of the craft for laying the corner-stone of public edifices. This was done May 25, 1909, in the presence of the General Assembly, Justices of the Supreme and Superior Courts, State officers, invited guests and representatives from the several lodges in the State.

On the day before Thanksgiving, 1910—his tenth anniversary—the State Librarian officially moved his desk from the State Capitol to his new home in the beautiful, convenient, commodious, substantially built State Library and Supreme Court building with which he had been so closely identified in planning and construction, and which has made possible much of the work of our State Library.

ARCHIVES

In my first report to the Governor as State Librarian for the year ended September 30, 1900, I called attention to the value and necessity of Connecticut History and the importance of the Connecticut official archives in the following manner.

“The fact that a large amount of historical matter relative to the State and its people is fast disappearing, either by destruction or by purchase by persons and institutions outside the State, emphasises the fact that Connecticut is not living up to her opportunities and duty.

“While it is not the purpose or thought to change the policy of this library in its selection of books, it would seem more attention should be given to strictly Connecticut items. At least that effort should be made to complete our line of Connecticut local and town histories and reports, if not the biographies and writings of its citizens.

"The State Library is the center, and in it should be collected not only the records of the past, but also of the future. As the value of this record depends upon the completeness of the material collected, too much attention cannot be given to it.

"It is only by the exercise of scrupulous care in the preservation and guarding of rare books and manuscripts already in the possession of the library, that we can hope or expect that this library will be chosen in preference to other institutions as the final treasure-house in which to deposit manuscripts and other works of value by those who hold them not only dear, but sacred.

"The archives of the State, as is well known, are not confined to the State records and the various manuscript volumes in the office of the Secretary of State. There is a great quantity of papers upon various matters which have been accumulating since the settlement of the Colony. About forty thousand (40,000) of these, mostly before 1790, which were by authority of the General Assembly pasted into large folio volumes, have been deposited in the Library. These 122 volumes, each with an index, are divided into the following twenty-two subjects:—

1. Militia, 1678–1757. 5 vols. Those volumes relate to the formation of Military Companies, Appointment of Officers, etc.

2. War, 1675–1774. 10 vols. Papers relating to Wars with Indians, French and Indians, France and Spain; also papers relative to the Agents of the Colony in England, 1751–1774.

3. Revolutionary War, 1763–1789. 37 vols. In addition to a large number of Pay and Muster-rolls, these volumes contain papers relating to the Stamp and the Sugar Acts, the Congress of 1765, Secret Expedition to Ticonderoga, Lexington Alarm, Negro Governor, Burning of Fairfield, Danbury, New Haven, Norwich,

etc., Tories, Refugees, Confiscated Estates, Slavery, Connecticut Line; also in relation to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

4. Indians, 1647-1789. 2 vols. Many documents concerning Uncas, Owaneco, etc.

5. Private Controversies. 1642-1716. 6 vols. Principally documents relating to cases in Court of Assistants and upon Appeal to the General Assembly; also a few Wills and Inventories.

6. Ecclesiastical, 1659-1789. 15 vols. Papers relating to the settlement and support of Ministers, organizing and dividing Parishes, Dissenters, etc; also some valuable Maps.

7. Finance and Currency, 1677-1789. 5 vols. These volumes contain Acts, etc., relating to the Bills of Credit, Salaries, Grants, the Treasury, Taxes, etc.

8. Finances, 1709-1752. 2 vols. Treasurer's accounts as audited.

9. Towns and Lands, 1629-1790. 10 vols. Many documents, Maps and Plans of great value relative to the settlement of Towns and Boundaries, highways, Grants of land, etc., are found in these volumes. Thus a copy of the Charter of Plymouth Colony and of the old Patent of Connecticut, 1631, is among them; also the Agreement with Mr. Fenwick about Saybrook, 1644.

10. Susquehannah Settlers, 1775-1796. 1 vol. Contains also papers relating to the Delaware Company, and the Western Lands belonging to Connecticut.

11. Colonial Boundaries, 1662-1827. 3 vols. Papers and documents relative to the Boundaries between Connecticut and Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and Long Island. Of great historic interest.

12. Foreign Correspondence, 1661-1748. 2 vols. Rich in autograph letters from the English Kings and Queens and from our Colonial Agents. Many papers have to do with the obtaining of the Charter.

13. Trade and Maritime Affairs, 1668-1789. 2 vols. Papers dealing with Exports, Imports, Duties, Light-houses, etc; also concerning Indian lands in Massachusetts.

14. Travel, 1670-1788. 3 vols. Papers relating to Highways, Ferries, Bridges, Taverns, etc.

15. Industry, 1708-1789. 2 vols. These volumes relate to Agriculture, Fisheries, Manufacturers, Mines, etc. Contain also a specimen of Printing from the first types cast in America, 1769.

16. College and Schools, 1661-1789. 2 vols. Contain a mass of interesting matter relating to Education and Copyrights; also sundry printed Acts and Laws.

17. Civil Officers, etc., 1669-1754. 3 vols. Papers relating to Appointments, General Assembly, Courts, Counties, Physicians, etc. Among these papers is a List of the Freemen in the Colony in 1669, and sundry Laws and Governor's Discourses and Messages.

18. Court Papers, 1696-1705. 1 vol. Principally relating to County Courts.

19. Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1663-1788. Papers relating to Counterfeiting, Burglary, Defamation, Divorce, etc., etc; also relative to the establishing and regulation of Newgate prison.

20. Lotteries and Divorces, 1755-1789. 1 vol. Lotteries for the benefit of the Treasury, Roads, Bridges, Lighthouses, Meeting houses, Colleges, etc.

21. Insolvent Debtors, 1762-1787. 1 vol. Petitions for Acts of Insolvency, etc.

22. Miscellaneous, 1662-1789. 3 vols. Of great historic interest and value. Thus the Correspondence with Andros, the Writs of quo warranto against the Colony. Documents relative to Union of Connecticut and New Haven, the New England Confederation, Appeals to England, Slaves, Inquests, General Assembly, the Capitol at New Haven, etc., etc.

“The above one hundred and twenty-one volumes containing so many thousands of documents, together with many similar papers unmounted and unarranged pertaining to the history of the State, to the history of every town and nearly every ancient family of the State, are now stored in the numerous wooden cupboards in the Library.

“Of all the treasures of the State, these manuscript archives are most precious. Many documents and records contained therein are unique, and if damaged,



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MORGAN MEMORIAL

lost or stolen could never be replaced. Recent reports from Harvard and elsewhere show how great the danger of mutilation—if not the total loss—at the hands of unscrupulous collectors, and the recent fire in the Capitol at Washington by which a portion of the archives and records of the highest court of our land perished, ought to emphasize the necessity of properly protecting our archives, the loss or mutilation of which would mean not only a permanent loss to Connecticut, but to the world.”

INDEXES

Among what is known as the Connecticut archives are these one hundred and twenty-two folio volumes containing about forty thousand papers, the manuscript files of the General Assembly, ranging from 1662 to 1789. They are divided into twenty-two sets of from one to thirty volumes each, according to subject. Some of the best known collections are: “Revolutionary War, 1642–1789,” 37 volumes; “Private Controversies, 1642–1716,” 6 volumes; “Ecclesiastical Papers, 1659–1789,” 15 volumes; “Towns and Lands, 1629–1790,” 10 volumes; and “Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1663–1788,” 6 volumes. These volumes were made with the sanction of the Assembly about 1845, by Sylvester Judd, author of *History of Hadley, Massachusetts*, who selected the material and arranged it as it is today. Besides these papers which he took out as most interesting to him were many others, perhaps touching on identical matters, which he passed over and were left unbound in the original little packages in the office of the Secretary of State. The volumes, however, were deposited in the State Library. They are some of the most precious possessions of the State.

Since 1906 they have become even more valuable by being made more usable. All the collections mentioned above and many others have been indexed according to a very minute and definite scheme worked out under the direction of State Librarian Godard by Miss Effie M. Prickett of the Archives department of the State Library. Thus far the different sets have separate indexes, but it is planned to combine all in time into one large file, or perhaps two files, one of the civil and the other of the military papers. The fact of being an index to so much material and covering such a long period explains the system which is in some ways elaborate, yet very simple and always usable.

In 1915 the files of the General Assembly down to the year 1820 were deposited in the State Library. That is, the papers left out of the one hundred and twenty-two volumes, which are on the same or similar subjects, came over unbound, but tied together in packages arranged according to session of the Assembly. It was decided by Mr. Godard, State librarian, to have these papers arranged and indexed as soon as possible, that the material might be available in connection with the other archives.

The legislative papers of the General Assembly for May session, 1790, are the earliest of those transferred which remain intact as those prior to 1789 had been culled in forming the one hundred twenty-two volumes of archives above mentioned. The files of the General Assembly are of two kinds—those papers on which favorable or unfavorable action was taken; that is enacted and rejected legislation. The former consists of those acts and resolves passed by the General Assembly and the petitions and memorials upon which such favorable

action was taken. The other class consists of bills and petitions which came before the General Assembly but which were either not acted upon by both Houses or by one House or were rejected.

Papers on which favorable action was taken are found in the records of the General Assembly known as Colonial or State Records. There is no mention made in the Colonial or State Records of papers relating to rejected or nonconcurring legislation. Reference to such papers, therefore, is consequently to be found only in the files and journals of the General Assembly of the period covered. As might be expected, all original papers are more extended than appear in the entries in the official Colonial and State Records for they contain the original form of the proposed act with evidence, appointment of committees to consider, reports of committees, amendments, etc., as well as the separate action of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Assembly on the same. Only affirmative legislation is recorded in the Colonial and State Records.

In indexing, arranging and making accessible the contents of these additional original files the papers are arranged as per their disposition by the General Assembly—whether enacted or not enacted. The papers which precede and belong with the final action of the General Assembly on any measure are put together and placed in the same relative position as is the entry in the record. The supplementary papers usually follow a natural order, as for instance, a petition first, evidence accompanying it, report of the committee to which it was referred and the final act as passed. This arrangement has seemed to the State Librarian to be the logical one

for it enables one to consult the files and the Colonial and State Records together with ease.

Rules similar to those used in cataloguing have been followed. That is, for the majority of the papers, an author entry and one or more subject entries are found. All author entries for Connecticut or the General Assembly are omitted, however, as for the most part the whole set would come under those heads. For papers for which the United States or any other state is responsible, author entries are made as usual, as for instance "North Carolina." Thus the acts and resolves of Connecticut will be found only under subject with an entry descriptive of the contents of the document. If some of the subjects seem unnecessary in such a short index, it must be kept in mind that this, though complete in itself, is part of a much larger, broader whole.

Petitions are entered under the name of the petitioner. If a town is a petitioner it is entered under the town. If more than one person petitions, the entry has been made fully under each name unless there are more than three, in which case the names after the first merely contain a brief entry, as "Smith, Stephen (A) Saybrook petition." It will be noted that the entries which are called "full entries" are digests of the contents of the document. This plan of giving so much information has been found to answer two purposes: it does away with bringing many documents to the user in order to find if any contains information he is after; and it saves wear and tear on the documents which are in a fragile condition at best.

Besides the entry under the petitioner there is always another made under the name of the town to which he belongs. This entry has always a subdivision,

as "Individuals," which is most common, or "Estates," or "Highways," etc. This subdivision distinguishes such entries from those which apply to the town as a whole, or of which the town is, so to speak, the author. Entries under the town with subhead "Individuals" or "Estates" are always made just as the main entry, with the name of the petitioner, inverted, first and are filed by this name. Entries under the town with some other subhead usually begin with "Petition of" followed by the same text as is used in the main entry. This is the uninverted entry. These are filed by order of document. The object of these town entries is to answer the need which arises so often when a request is made for anything about a town or about any person connected with that town.

Besides these entries there is always an entry under at least one subject. In the case of petitions where no special subject may be found the heading "Probate claims and petitions" has been used. Under this as well as most of the other subjects the inverted form is used and arrangement is by name. When the entry is not inverted arrangement is numerical. The difference depends on whether the personal interest predominates. Examples of different kinds of entry will be found under the headings "Bankruptcy," "Lotteries" and "Manufacturers." Still other headings of which "Militia" is an example are arranged yet differently, in this case by number of the brigade, regiment or company.

Subjects are chosen as much from point of view of the user as possible. When possible they are consistent with the headings in the catalogue. Again they are based upon some reliable work like the Statutes.

Entries are made for every name in a document as well as for the petitioner. This is generally brief with as much information as will show at once whether the material will be worth further consultation. For instance, the information "Wethersfield sheriff" means that the man is mentioned only in his official capacity and nothing further of interest about him will be found. When possible the name of the town has been given, as stated on the document; knowledge from another source is not used to supply it when not stated. In personal names however every effort has been used to supply the forename when not given. When supplied brackets "[]" have been used. These names are taken from authentic sources, as from rolls of the Assembly, military rolls, Heitman's Register and histories.

When the spelling of a surname appears in several forms, one is taken under which all the others are combined, as "Chappel, Chapel, Chapple" and when necessary references are made from the unused spellings. The spelling chosen is as far as possible the most used or one for which an autograph was found. If the correct spelling was not found anywhere it has not been used, even for a reference, as in a short index a name however spelled is not apt to escape notice.

The symbol "(A)" refers to an autograph, "(M)" to a mark. They are used only in the main entry. "(?)" implies uncertainty. As far as possible the action taken by the Assembly or by one of the houses has been noted at the end of each entry of a petition. "Cr." implies favorable or concurrent action, "Neg." unfavorable. Certain abbreviations have been used to save time as they occur so often. They are for the

most part obvious, as "com." for committee, and the well known military titles.

The papers in the file of May 1790 are interesting and contain a very general kind of material. There are three hundred and eighteen separate documents. The two hundred and sixty four papers in Part I contain with six exceptions everything of which mention is made in the Record of that session. These exceptions are: the rolls of the Senate and of the House of Representatives; the list of Middlesex County justices; a resolve authorizing the Comptroller to settle the accounts of the regimental agents appointed to settle the accounts of balances due the officers and soldiers of the late army; and three private petitions. The remaining fifty-three papers belonging to Part II are scattering but nevertheless quite full of interest.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR RECORDS

Not the least interesting section of those historical records now being assembled in the Department of War Records in our State Library is that composed of the decorations and medals, some gold, some silver, some bronze, issued by the army, navy, marine corps, and other departments of our Government, and Governments abroad, and by the various states, patriotic societies, towns and other communities, corporations and individuals. Of all the trays of such memorials now on exhibition in our Memorial Hall, perhaps none are more interesting than those containing the service medals conferred by various towns upon their sons who served in this great conflict.

Several of these insignia have special designs based upon natural advantages, local industries, local history,

their official seal, or some allegorical figure. Some bear the name of the veteran on whom it was conferred.

East Hartford has taken advantage of its meeting house, large trees, and the Connecticut River bridge in its design for its War medal. Meriden has a scene representing the crowning of the victorious defenders as they are welcomed home. Middlefield, Derby, New Britain and Torrington emphasize the spirit of victory. New Haven emphasizes her harbor and marine life. Derby emphasizes her bridge, water power, and industries. Shelton commemorates the service of Captain Isaac Hull, who commanded the flag-ship "Constitution" in the War of 1812. Waterbury emphasizes her rolling mills. Willington emphasizes her manufacture of thread. Windham perpetuates the historic Windham frog. In all of these insignia, the American eagle, the spirit of liberty, or the spirit of victory are emphasized.

These several badges conferred by Connecticut towns, whether round, the shape of a cross, or the shape of a star, as they are suspended by the colors of the Allies, attached to a fitting crossbar, present a most attractive appearance in the special trays in which they have been arranged. They constitute a substantial contribution towards perpetuating the work our boys did, and the contributions they made.

The badge of the town of Willington deserves special mention. The badge, which is of solid gold, and bears the insignia of the new town seal, designed and adopted for this special occasion, is surmounted by an American eagle with out-stretched wings. Its size and design are such that it may be worn at all times and in all places. This unique badge was designed and presented to the Willington boys through the favor and generosity of

the late Senator William Henry Hall, President pro-tem of the Connecticut Senate, who also had a son in the service.

The records assembled in our Department of War Records have been greatly supplemented through Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, U. S. A., who commanded the 26th Division, composed largely of New England boys, which was the first to go over seas and enter the front line trenches. The history of many a Connecticut family is closely identified with the history of this Division.

Through the favor of General Edwards, as Commander of the Department of the East, over 40,000 manuscripts relating to the life and activities of the 26th Division, from the time of its embarkation over-seas until the time of its return, have been photostated and now form an important part of our Department of War Records.

It is to be regretted that so many of the Connecticut boys who saw service in the World War, do not appreciate the opportunity given by our Department of War Records to record, in their own words and in their own way on special uniform blanks furnished for this purpose—for the benefit of those who shall come after them—something of the services which they were able to render; and for the benefit of the state and country, a statement of their observations and recommendations.

The following explanatory note appears at the top of the special Military Service Questionnaire calling attention to its importance and method of preservation and disposition.

NOTE: This Questionnaire should be completed so far as possible with such information as can be furnished at once, and returned with photographs and additional notes or letters, if available, to Department of War Records, State Library, Hartford, Conn. Your completed Questionnaire will convey to your children and to their children, your story in your own words, of the part you took in the great conflict. The "Roll of Honor" and the accompanying list of names certified by a town official, will form the Title Page and Table of Contents to the volumes of War Records relating to those in service from your Town.

It is to be hoped that sometime suitable provision may be made by our Government for the proper recognition of the services, by those patriotic citizens, both men and women, boys and girls, who rendered most important and necessary service outside of the army and navy. This service, in many cases, was not limited by hours, days nor weeks, but only by their physical strength and resources.

Connecticut is pleased, proud, and grateful for the assistance she was able to render the United States and the Allies in bringing to a successful issue the Great World War. Not only were men, money and munitions furnished as never before, but those many other things so necessary for health, happiness, and success, were most bountifully contributed from all parts of the State. Every home and hamlet was a hive of industry. Our farms, schools, highways, factories, and all industries awoke to a new life, to new opportunities, and to new responsibilities.

We of today know how those new opportunities and those new responsibilities were met in Connecticut, but we want those who shall come after us, our children and their grandchildren, to know what Connecticut did. We want them to know that when this great conflict came, Connecticut was the *first* State in the Union to begin to get ready, and to pledge, through our War



THE PEQUOT LIBRARY, SOUTHPORT.

Governor, Marcus H. Holcomb, twice reelected, its support to our Government for the protection of liberty.

It was under his direction, authorized by special Legislative action, that the Connecticut State Military Census, the Connecticut Agricultural Census, and the Connecticut Industrial Census were taken. All of these were of substantial and timely assistance to our Government, in helping to meet this great world-wide emergency. The results of these will form an interesting and enlightening picture of Connecticut activities during this period.

How well Governor Holcomb's pledge was fulfilled, we of today know. In order that those of tomorrow may know, and thus be inspired and encouraged to do their duty in their day, there is being assembled in connection with the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the State of Connecticut, and in our Department of War Records, for the benefit of the people and historians of tomorrows, not only the history of divisions, regiments, and individuals who served at the front, but also the reports of the activities of towns, societies, and communities who supported those at the front through the many and varied industries at home.

The Historical Collection of the Connecticut Commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States continues to grow and attracts much attention in our Memorial Hall. It is a part of our Department of War Records and supplements in many ways that remarkable Joseph C. Mitchelson Collection of coins, medals and tokens, recently presented to the State, in which so many are interested, and to which contributions are frequently made, which also supplements our Department of War Records.

Through the efforts of Major Howard A. Giddings of this city, so long Secretary of the Connecticut Commandery, and many who have seen service in the World War and other wars, or who had ancestors who had seen such service, there have been contributed to this remarkable collection, many items—highly valued by their owners—which contribute towards making this historical collection one of interest and inspiration to the many who see it. Only an occasional visit to our Memorial Hall when the pupils, accompanied by their teachers, from any of our public schools from various sections of the State, are present with us, is necessary to show the interest in, and value of such a historical collection. In it are found implements of warfare from the crude stone arrow-head of the Indian, which our ancestors had to face, to the latest small weapon of our day.

By means of special standard exhibition trays, tables, and cases, which we have improvised, these several exhibits are conveniently arranged and easily changed.

SOLDIER'S GRAVES

The work of locating and marking the graves of soldiers who served in their Colony, State or Nation in any of the several wars since 1636 continues. As there were often several of the same name serving practically at the same time in the various wars with which Connecticut has been identified, it is necessary to support local and family tradition with records where possible. Not only are the Colony and State records including the courts and the records at Washington being made accessible and used, but the records of the several towns—

including church records—are necessary to identify men and graves.

The field work in various parts of the State is being conducted through various interested individuals and patriotic societies. Among these should be noted the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames of America, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of the War of 1812, Founders and Patriots of America, Society of Colonial Wars, Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and Sons of Veterans, the American Legion, and others.

Special mention should be made of the work being done in Hartford County under the direction of Hartford Camp No. 50, Sons of Veterans, through its secretary and Past Commander, Charles R. Hale of Hartford, and of the work in Windham County under the direction of Mrs. Henry Dorrance.

NEGLECTED FAMILY CEMETERIES

Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Storrs Family Association, held at the Connecticut Agricultural College, Storrs, in the ancient town of Mansfield, Connecticut, August 31, 1921, relating to neglected family cemeteries scattered through New England:

WHEREAS, There are scattered through the several towns of Connecticut and other parts of New England, family cemeteries, located on the home farms of the early settlers and pioneers, and

WHEREAS, Many of these family cemeteries have, from the removal of these early families to other localities, become neglected and forgotten and are gradually disappearing, thus blotting out in many instances the only available early vital records of these families, and

WHEREAS, There are doubtless descendants of these families now widely separated from these ancestral acres who, if they

knew of the conditions which obtain, would wish to correct the same, and

WHEREAS, Many of the early probate, land and family records relating to these early families are being officially assembled in the Connecticut State Library at Hartford, and in various historical societies throughout the land;

RESOLVED, That we the members of the Storrs Family Association, gathered in its Thirty-first Annual Reunion at the Connecticut Agricultural College in Storrs, Connecticut, and almost under the shadow of the monument erected to the first American Storrs ancestor, express our regret at such conditions and request our Secretary to record these resolutions and send a copy of the same to George S. Godard, State Librarian, Connecticut State Library, Hartford; Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester; New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord; Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, and Maine Historical Society, Portland, with the hope that through their extended correspondence they may assist in compiling a list of such family cemeteries and so far as possible correct the existing conditions.

(Signed)

LEWELLYN J. STORRS,
President.

ABBIE O. STORRS,
Secretary.

EARLY CONNECTICUT HOUSES

Through the Committee on Old Houses of the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames the manuscript histories of about four hundred early Connecticut houses have been compiled and permanently deposited in the Connecticut State Library. These histories, which usually represent the results of much time and research of the compiler, are written upon a special form prepared by the committee having this work in charge. Such questions are asked and such typical floor-plans are given as will enable the compiler to make his or her contribution more complete and uniform. The photo-

graphs which accompany these sketches and the family and community traditions often given will make this series relating to the homes of our fathers of increasing value and interest, and a valuable supplement to our public records.

Two series of histories have thus far been compiled. The first series known as "Colonial Houses of Connecticut" was compiled between the years 1902 and 1912 under the immediate direction of Mrs. Henry F. Ferguson and Miss Mary E. Beach respectively, who served as chairmen of the Committee on Old Houses during this period. By vote of the Society these were presented to the State Library in 1912.

The second series known as "Old Houses of Connecticut" has been compiled since 1912 under the immediate direction of Mrs. Elford Parry Trowbridge, chairman of the Committee on Old Houses, and have been presented to the State Library from time to time as the histories have been approved by the Committee.

The sketches have been uniformly bound in "Connecticut blue" imperial morocco cloth, plainly lettered in gold. The back and the front cover of each volume both bear the name of the house, date when built and the town in which it is located. The front cover also bears the name of the series and the seal of the society. The binding has been done in the State Library bindery.

The publication of the material found in these unique volumes—except that found upon the pages of the certificate, is reserved by the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames. The Yale University Press published in 1923, a worthy volume based on a selection from these histories, under the editorship of Mrs. Elford Parry Trowbridge, who has been chairman of the Committee

on Old Houses since 1912, and Prof. Charles M. Andrews of Yale.

The instructions which accompany each blank questionnaire indicate something of the spirit and thoroughness with which the work of collecting the data for these histories has been undertaken.

Your report will be placed in the State Library at Hartford, where it will be bound and carefully preserved, accessible to any one interested.

Facts and anecdotes connected with the lives of early occupants of the House, extracts from old letters, diaries, wills, and land records, and photographs from family portraits or early furnishings, or any details of the building, will add both value and attraction to the Record.

SPECIAL WORK OF THE CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY

While most of our special work is occupied in supplying material for the research work of others, especially the several departments and institutions of the State, there are certain fundamental lists which are maintained as, for instance:

(1) Analytical index to Connecticut Public Documents, 1850—when the series began—to date.

(2) Index Digest of the Messages of Connecticut Governors.

(3) Index to Progress of Proposed and Enacted Legislation of the Connecticut General Assembly.

(4) The maintaining of a complete collection of photostat copies of all bills as introduced with changes and progress on the same during the session. No bills are printed until favorably reported by the committee to which they were referred.

(5) Chronological and analytical index of the original Connecticut Probate Papers deposited in the Con-

necticut State Library now covering sixty-seven different probate districts, from the earliest days down to practically the present time, in some of the districts.

This index, known as "Godard's Analytical and Chronological Digest to Connecticut Probate Papers," is based upon the original papers deposited by each district after the several papers of a district have been alphabetized, grouped into families, then into estates, then inventoried and summarized. Thus the index to the Simsbury Probate District, which is Part 52 of Godard's Probate Digest, covered 2,966 estates, containing 17,272 separate papers from 1747-1906.

(6) The arranging, repairing and indexing—alphabetically, analytically and chronologically—of the Connecticut Archives:

(a) Papers of the Connecticut General Assembly to 1818.

(b) Files of Hartford County—County Court to 1885.

(c) Files of Hartford County—Superior Court to 1849.

(d) Files of New London County—County Court to 1855.

(e) Files of New London County—Superior Court to 1874.

(f) Files of Windham County—County Court to 1855.

(g) Files of Windham County—Superior Court to 1901.

(h) Files of Tolland County—County Court to 1855.

(i) Files of Tolland County—Superior Court to 1899.

(7) The assembling and making accessible as complete files as possible of the Financial and Educational Reports of the one hundred and sixty-nine towns and several municipalities of Connecticut.

(8) Digest of the laws of the several states relating to the care of archives and records.

(9) Digest of the laws of the several states relating to State Libraries and Public Library Commissions.

(10) Assembling a documentary history of the thirteen original states and the United States as evidenced by their coinage and currency. This has its basis in the Joseph C. Mitchelson Collection of coins, medals, and currency presented to the Connecticut State Library by Mr. Mitchelson, and accepted by the General Assembly in 1913.

(11) Copying and indexing the vital records of the one hundred sixty-nine towns of Connecticut up to 1850 or 1855 when Connecticut's Vital Statistics Law was enacted. This index is compiled first by towns on cards covering births, marriages and deaths, which are first typed and arranged in one alphabetical arrangement in folio volume, after which the cards covering the several towns are combined in one alphabetical arrangement. This work has its basis in the Barbour Collection of Transcripts of Connecticut Vital Records, recently presented to the State Library by the late General Lucius A. Barbour and his son, General Lucius B. Barbour, our Examiner of Public Records.

(12) The assembling of records and data relating to Connecticut's participation in the World War which includes not only personal service questionnaires and photostat copies of Government official records, but also the Connecticut Military Census, the Connecticut

Agricultural Census and the Connecticut Industrial Census taken in 1917 and 1918.

PUBLIC RECORDS ARE A PUBLIC TRUST.

The sons and daughters of New England are now widely scattered. Wherever there is an opportunity for business there you will find the New Englander or his descendants busy. As has been said of the British flag, so it may be truthfully said that the sun never sets on the entire New England family at once. While the New Englander has been characterized as shrewd and close, he is also renowned for his old-fashioned Fast and Thanksgiving. He also believed in Divine Providence, and his own folks. His latch string always hung out, his fireside was always theirs. He believed equally also in the "swarming of the hive," that is, he believed in going forth at the proper opportunity from the old home to take part in the business and social activities of the world.

I do not need to remind you how so many of the towns of Connecticut, New England, New York and the West and beyond were the result of this swarming of the hive, swarming of the family hive, swarming of the church hive, and the swarming of the town hive, and how these swarming and reswarming required new fields for development and resulted in new settlements. Often have we heard from our fathers and mothers and grandfathers and grandmothers how group after group from their community, under their own leaders found their way farther and farther into the then western lands, so little known; way out into "York State" and beyond. They travelled, not in pullman parlor cars and pullman sleepers on steel tracks, on stone ballasted road-beds,

and eating in dining cars as is our custom and privilege, but in ox carts and prairie schooners over rough and infrequented roads, through mountain districts and over corduroy roads in marshy places, cooking their meals as they went and always on the lookout for the skulking Indian or the hungry wolf.

Practically every home in New England contributed one or more members to these migrating parties, and as these sons and daughters left the family fireside for these new fields of activities the prayers and hopes and the solicitations of the dear ones left behind went with them. Many of us know with what eagerness these too often tardy letters to the dear ones at home were read and reread to the family and friends—often times through tears of joy and sadness. Only a father or mother can fully appreciate what these hopes and these fears were.

Probably no state furnished more members to these migrating armies than did the little State of Connecticut. Little State did I say? Little perhaps in territory, but Connecticut is great in fellowship, great in friendship, great in hope, and great in achievements. We should not judge Connecticut, nor any of our towns by what we now see. Their history can not be written based entirely on what we now see, or those whom we now know. We must not only look to the records and activities of the fathers and mothers in Connecticut and any of our towns, but we must also look for their records and their activities throughout the busy world, in other fields and activities. They are no longer confined to a local position on the map, they have gone forth to conquer or to be conquered, their life is now interwoven

with the activities of the world. What we now see is only a place of departure.

Possibly it may have been due to the experiences gained or the ideas created or the visions dreamed that made possible the splendid career of those five remarkable railway and transportation magnates of national and international reputation, namely: Collis P. Huntington, born in the town of Harwinton, Connecticut, the moving spirit of the Southern Pacific and Central Pacific, the Chesapeake and Ohio, and Mississippi Valley railroad. Asa Packer, a native of Lebanon, Connecticut, the moving spirit in the Lehigh Valley railroad. Henry B. Plant, a native of Branford, Connecticut, the head of the great Plant railway system in the South. Timothy B. Blackstone, a native of Branford, Connecticut, the head in the Chicago and Alton Railroad, and Sidney Dillon, a native of Bethel, Connecticut, vitally connected with the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, and largely interested in the construction of New England railways.

It is always pleasant for the old ones to be remembered by their children, and their children's children. It is pleasing and profitable for both the old and the young to stop a moment in the midst of this hustle and bustle of life and to assure the other that they are not forgotten. I am almost inclined to the belief that some day the sons and daughters of Connecticut and their descendants who are now scattered in the busy parts of activity outside of Connecticut, will be attracted by the tradition and scenery of our New England hills and will migrate "back East" and reclaim the ancestral acres, for I feel sure that the spirit of our fathers and the tradition of the latch string is still abroad in the land.

CONCLUSION

In the moment that remains, let me tell you of the experience of an aged couple from one of our neighboring towns, who for many years had attended regularly the camp meetings, which were and still are held on the camp grounds at Plainville each year. As was their custom, they planned to stay several days, and arranged accordingly. As usual the good mother had baked a leg of lamb, made some of her nice rich gravy, and placed both the leg of lamb and the gravy in an earthen jar, which in turn was placed in the little hair trunk with their other goods things, just as she had always done.

In former years they had driven to camp; this year they were to go by rail, for the railroad had just been completed to their town. So the good mother says to her son, who is to carry them to the station: "George, keep the trunk right side up when you put it in the wagon." This he did, and thought little about it. At the station, after the tickets had been bought and the trunk ordered checked, grandmother, who happened to step out of the station, was horrified to see her little trunk standing on end, and a little river of gravy running across the platform, whereupon she raised both her hands and exclaimed: "My gravy! my gravy!"

You all smile, you think she should have known better. She ought to have known better, but she just didn't think. The lamb and gravy had always gone safely before. Yes, but before the little trunk was always in their own immediate charge, never out of their hands, and its contents always went safely; but when the trunk and its contents were turned over to others, who neither knew nor cared what the contents were, the result was different.

The same thing may possibly be true of the records pertaining to the life and activities of some of our pioneer ancestors. Already much has been lost through the thoughtlessness and carelessness of individuals and officials into whose custody these records and early papers have come. It behooves us of the present day to see to it that our lamb and gravy, if I am permitted to speak of these early records and papers as such, our rights, institutions and liberties shall be put into such receptacles, into such hands, and surrounded by such safe guards that no matter who handles the trunk, the gravy shall be safe.

INCORPORATION AND CHANGES IN JURISDICTION OF CONNECTICUT TOWNS

HARTFORD COUNTY

Hartford named 1637.

A part set off to East Hartford 1783.

A part set off to West Hartford 1854.

Avon incorporated from Farmington 1830.

Berlin incorporated from Farmington, Wethersfield and Middletown 1785.

A part set off to New Britain 1850.

Bloomfield incorporated from Windsor 1835.

Bristol incorporated from Farmington 1785.

A part set off to Burlington 1806.

Burlington incorporated from Bristol 1806.

Canton incorporated from Simsbury 1806.

East Granby incorporated from Granby and Windsor Locks 1858.

East Hartford incorporated from Hartford 1783.

A part set off to Manchester 1823.

East Windsor incorporated from Windsor 1768.

A part set off to Ellington 1786.

A part set off to South Windsor 1845.

Enfield annexed from Massachusetts in 1749.

Farmington incorporated 1645.

- A part set off to Southington 1779.
- A part set off to Bristol 1785.
- A part set off to Berlin 1785.
- A part set off to Avon 1830.
- A part set off to Plainville 1869.
- Glastonbury incorporated from Wethersfield 1690.
- A part set off to Marlborough 1803.
- Granby incorporated from Simsbury 1786.
- A part set off to East Granby 1858.
- Hartland incorporated 1761.
- Manchester incorporated from East Hartford 1823.
- Marlborough incorporated from Colchester, Glastonbury, and Hebron 1803.
- New Britain incorporated from Berlin 1850.
- Newington incorporated from Wethersfield 1871.
- Plainville incorporated from Farmington 1869.
- Rocky Hill incorporated from Wethersfield 1843.
- Simsbury named 1670.
- A part set off to Granby 1786.
- A part set off to Canton 1806.
- Southington incorporated from Farmington 1779.
- A part set off to Wolcott 1796.
- South Windsor incorporated from East Windsor 1845.
- Suffield annexed from Massachusetts 1749.
- West Hartford incorporated from Hartford 1854.
- Wethersfield named 1637.
- A part set off to Glastonbury 1690.
- A part set off to Berlin 1785.
- A part set off to Rocky Hill 1843.
- A part set off to Newington, 1871.
- Windsor named 1637.
- A part set off to East Windsor 1768.
- A part set off to Bloomfield 1835.
- A part set off to Windsor Locks 1854.
- Windsor Locks incorporated from Windsor 1854.
- A part set off to East Granby 1858.

NEW HAVEN COUNTY

- New Haven named 1640. United with Connecticut 1665.
- A part set off to Woodbridge 1784.
- A part set off to East Haven 1785.
- A part set off to North Haven 1786.

- A part set off to Hamden 1786.
- A part set off to Orange 1822.
- Ansonia incorporated from Derby 1889.
- Beacon Falls incorporated from Bethany, Oxford, Seymour and Naugatuck 1871.
- Bethany incorporated from Woodbridge 1832.
 - A part set off to Naugatuck 1844.
 - A part set off to Beacon Falls 1871.
- Branford settled 1644. United with Connecticut 1665.
 - A part set off to North Branford 1831.
- Cheshire incorporated from Wallingford 1780.
 - A part set off to Prospect 1827.
- Derby named 1675. Date organized uncertain.
 - A part set off to Oxford 1798.
 - A part set off to Seymour 1850.
 - A part set off to Ansonia 1889.
- East Haven incorporated from New Haven 1785.
- Guilford named 1643. United with Connecticut 1662.
 - A part set off to Madison 1826.
- Hamden incorporated from New Haven 1786.
- Madison incorporated from Guilford 1826.
- Meriden incorporated from Wallingford 1806.
- Middlebury incorporated from Waterbury, Woodbury and Southbury 1807.
- Milford settled 1639. Submitted to Connecticut 1664.
 - A part set off to Woodbridge 1784.
 - A part set off to Orange 1822.
- Naugatuck incorporated from Waterbury, Bethany and Oxford 1844.
 - A part set off to Beacon Falls 1871.
- North Branford incorporated from Branford 1831.
- North Haven incorporated from New Haven 1786.
- Orange incorporated from Milford and New Haven 1822.
- Oxford incorporated from Derby and Southbury 1798.
 - A part set off to Naugatuck 1844.
 - A part set off to Beacon Falls 1871.
- Prospect incorporated from Cheshire and Waterbury 1827.
- Seymour incorporated from Derby 1850.
 - A part set off to Beacon Falls 1871.
- Southbury incorporated from Woodbury 1787.
 - A part set off to Oxford 1798.
 - A part set off to Middlebury 1807.

Wallingford named 1670.

A part set off to Cheshire 1780.

A part set off to Meriden 1806.

Waterbury named 1686.

A part set off to Watertown 1780.

A part set off to Wolcott 1796.

A part set off to Middlebury 1807.

A part set off to Prospect 1827.

A part set off to Naugatuck 1844.

West Haven named about 1720. Incorporated from Orange, 1921.

Wolcott incorporated from Waterbury and Southington 1796.

Woodbridge incorporated from New Haven and Milford 1784.

A part set off to Bethany 1832.

NEW LONDON COUNTY

New London named 1658.

A part set off to Groton 1705.

A part set off to Montville 1786.

A part set off to Waterford 1801.

Norwich settled 1660.

A part set off to Bozrah, Franklin and Lisbon 1786.

Bozrah incorporated from Norwich 1786.

Colchester named 1699.

A part set off to Marlborough 1803.

A part set off to Salem 1819.

East Lyme incorporated from Lyme and Waterford 1839.

Franklin incorporated from Norwich 1786.

A part set off to Sprague 1861.

Griswold incorporated from Preston 1815.

Groton incorporated from New London 1705.

A part set off to Ledyard 1836.

Lebanon incorporated 1700.

A part set off to Columbia 1804.

Ledyard incorporated from Groton 1836.

Lisbon incorporated from Norwich 1786.

A part set off to Sprague 1861.

Lyme incorporated from Saybrook 1665.

A part set off to Salem 1819.

A part set off to East Lyme 1839.

A part set off to Old Lyme 1855.

Montville incorporated from New London 1786.

A part set off to Salem 1819.

North Stonington incorporated from Stonington 1807.

Old Lyme incorporated from Lyme 1855.

Preston named 1687.

A part set off to Griswold 1815.

Salem incorporated from Colchester, Lyme and Montville 1819.

Sprague incorporated from Lisbon and Franklin 1861.

Stonington incorporated by Massachusetts 1658.

A part set off to North Stonington 1807.

Volumtown named 1708.

A part set off to Sterling 1794.

Waterford incorporated from New London 1801.

A part set off to East Lyme 1839.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY

Bridgeport incorporated from Stratford 1821.

Bethel incorporated from Danbury 1855.

Brookfield incorporated from Danbury, New Milford, and New town 1788.

Darien, incorporated from Stamford 1820.

Danbury named 1687.

A part set off to Brookfield 1788.

A part set off to Bethel 1855.

Easton incorporated from Weston 1845.

Fairfield named 1645.

A part set off to Redding 1767.

A part set off to Weston 1787.

A part set off to Westport 1835.

Greenwich settled 1640. Submitted to Connecticut 1662.

Huntington incorporated from Stratford 1789.

A part set off to Monroe 1823.

Monroe incorporated from Huntington 1823.

New Canaan incorporated from Norwalk and Stamford 1801.

New Fairfield incorporated 1740.

A part set off to Sherman 1802.

Newtown incorporated 1711.

A part set off to Brookfield 1788.

Norwalk incorporated 1651.

A part set off to New Canaan 1801.

A part set off to Wilton 1802.

A part set off to Westport 1835.

Redding incorporated from Fairfield 1767.

Ridgefield incorporated 1709.

Sherman incorporated from New Fairfield 1802.

Stamford named 1641. Submitted to Connecticut 1662.

A part set off to New Canaan 1801.

A part set off to Darien 1820.

Stratford settled 1639.

A part set off to Huntington 1789.

A part set off to Trumbull 1797.

A part set off to Bridgeport 1821.

Trumbull incorporated from Stratford 1797.

Weston incorporated from Fairfield, 1787.

A part set off to Westport 1835.

A part set off to Easton 1845.

Westport incorporated from Fairfield, Norwalk, and Weston 1835.

Wilton incorporated from Norwalk 1802.

WINDHAM COUNTY

Brooklyn incorporated from Pomfret and Canterbury 1786.

A part set off to Hampton 1786.

Ashford named 1710.

A part set off to Eastford 1847.

Canterbury incorporated from Plainfield 1703.

A part set off to Brooklyn 1786.

A part set off to Hampton 1786.

Chaplain incorporated from Mansfield and Hampton 1822.

Eastford incorporated from Ashford 1847.

Hampton incorporated from Windham, Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury and Mansfield 1786.

A part set off to Chaplin 1822.

Killingly incorporated 1708.

A part set off to Thompson 1785.

A part set off to Putnam 1855.

Plainfield incorporated 1699.

A part set off to Canterbury 1703.

Pomfret named 1713. Incorporated uncertain.

A part set off to Brooklyn 1786.

A part set off to Hampton 1786.

A part set off to Putnam 1855.

Putnam incorporated from Pomfret, Thompson and Killingly 1855.

Scotland incorporated from Windham 1857.

Sterling incorporated from Voluntown 1794.
Thompson incorporated from Killingly 1785.
A part set off to Putnam 1855.
Windham incorporated 1692.
A part set off to Mansfield 1702.
A part set off to Hampton 1786.
A part set off to Scotland 1857.
Woodstock incorporated from Massachusetts 1749.

LITCHFIELD COUNTY

Litchfield incorporated 1719.
A part set off to Washington 1779.
A part set off to Morris 1859.
Barkhamsted incorporated 1779.
Bethlehem incorporated 1787.
Bridgewater incorporated from New Milford 1856.
Canaan incorporated 1739.
A part set off to North Canaan 1858.
Colebrook incorporated 1779.
Cornwall incorporated 1740.
Goshen incorporated 1739.
Harwinton incorporated 1737.
Kent incorporated 1739.
A part set off to Washington 1779.
A part set off to Warren 1786.
Morris incorporated from Litchfield 1859.
New Hartford incorporated 1738.
New Milford incorporated 1712.
A part set off to Washington 1779.
A part set off to Brookfield 1788.
A part set off to Bridgewater 1856.
North Canaan incorporated from Canaan 1858.
Norfolk incorporated 1758.
Plymouth incorporated from Watertown 1795.
A part set off to Thomaston 1875.
Roxbury incorporated from Woodbury 1796.
Salisbury incorporated 1741.
Sharon incorporated 1739.
Thomaston incorporated from Plymouth 1875.
Torrington incorporated 1740.
Warren incorporated from Kent 1786.

- Washington incorporated from Kent, Woodbury, Litchfield and New Milford 1779.
- Watertown incorporated from Waterbury 1780.
- A part set off to Plymouth 1795.
- Winchester incorporated 1771.
- Woodbury named 1674.
- A part set off to Washington 1779.
- A part set off to Southbury 1787.
- A part set off to Roxbury 1796.
- A part set off to Middlebury 1807.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

- Middletown incorporated 1651.
- A part set off to Chatham 1767.
- A part set off to Perlin 1785.
- A part set off to Cromwell 1851.
- A part set off to Middlefield 1866.
- Haddam incorporated 1668.
- A part set off to East Haddam 1734.
- Chester incorporated from Saybrook 1836.
- Clinton incorporated from Killingworth 1838.
- Cromwell incorporated from Middletown 1851.
- Durham incorporated 1708.
- East Haddam incorporated from Haddam 1734.
- East Hampton incorporated as Chatham from Middletown 1767.
- Name changed to East Hampton 1915.
- A part set off to Portland 1841.
- Essex incorporated from Old Saybrook 1854.
- Killingworth named 1667.
- A part set off to Clinton 1838.
- Middlefield incorporated from Middletown 1866.
- Old Saybrook incorporated from Saybrook 1852.
- A part set off to Essex 1854.
- Portland incorporated from Chatham 1841.
- Saybrook united with Connecticut 1644.
- A part set off to Lyme 1665.
- A part set off to Chester 1836.
- A part set off to Westbrook 1840.
- A part set off to Old Saybrook 1852.
- Westbrook incorporated from Saybrook 1840.

TOLLAND COUNTY

Tolland named 1715.

Andover incorporated from Hebron and Coventry 1848.

Bolton incorporated 1720.

A part set off to Vernon 1808.

Columbia incorporated from Lebanon 1804.

Coventry named 1711.

A part set off to Andover 1848.

Ellington incorporated from East Windsor 1786.

Hebron incorporated 1708.

A part set off to Marlborough 1803.

A part set off to Andover 1848.

Mansfield incorporated from Windham 1702.

A part set off to Hampton 1786.

A part set off to Chaplin 1822.

Somers incorporated from Massachusetts 1749.

Stafford settled 1719.

Union incorporated 1734.

Vernon incorporated from Bolton 1808.

Willington incorporated 1727.

CONNECTICUT PROBATE COURTS

Judges of Probate are elected biennially on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November in years having an even number, and for the term of two years from the Wednesday after the first Monday of January next succeeding their election.

HARTFORD COUNTY

HARTFORD (Hartford, Bloomfield, Glastonbury, Newington, Rocky Hill, West Hartford, Wethersfield, Windsor Locks).

Constituted May session 1666, as a County Court.

AVON

Constituted May session, 1844, from Farmington.

BERLIN (Berlin and New Britain).

Constituted June 2, 1824, from Farmington, Hartford and Middletown.

BRISTOL

Constituted June 4, 1830, from Farmington.

BURLINGTON

Constituted June 3, 1834, from Farmington.

CANTON

Constituted June 7, 1841, from Simsbury.

EAST GRANBY

Constituted July 4, 1865, from Granby.

EAST HARTFORD

Constituted May, 1887, from Hartford.

EAST WINDSOR (East Windsor, South Windsor).

Constituted May session, 1782, from Hartford and Stafford.

ENFIELD

Constituted May 26, 1831, from East Windsor.

FARMINGTON

Constituted January, 1769, from Hartford.

GRANBY

Constituted May session, 1807, from Simsbury and Hartford.

HARTLAND

Constituted June 3, 1836, from Granby.

MANCHESTER

Constituted June 22, 1850, from Hartford.

MARLBOROUGH

Constituted June 11, 1846, from Colchester.

PLAINVILLE

Constituted May 1909, from Farmington.

SIMSBURY

Constituted May session, 1769, from Hartford.

SOUTHINGTON

Constituted May 24, 1825, from Farmington.

SUFFIELD

Constituted May session, 1821, from Hartford and Granby.

WINDSOR

Constituted July 4, 1855, from Hartford.

NEW HAVEN COUNTY

NEW HAVEN (New Haven, East Haven, Hamden, North Haven, Orange, Seymour, West Haven, Woodbridge).

Constituted May session, 1666, as a County Court.

BETHANY

Constituted July 4, 1854, from New Haven.

BRANFORD

Constituted June 21, 1850, from Guilford.

CHESHIRE (Cheshire, Prospect).

Constituted May 27, 1829, from Wallingford.

DERBY (Derby, Ansonia, Seymour).

Constituted July 4, 1858, from New Haven.

GUILFORD (Guilford and the First Voting District of North Branford).

Constituted October session, 1719, from New Haven and New London.

MADISON

Constituted May 22, 1834, from Guilford.

MERIDEN

Constituted June 3, 1836, from Wallingford.

MILFORD

Constituted May 22, 1832, from New Haven.

NAUGATUCK (Naugatuck, Beacon Falls).

Constituted July 4, 1863, from Waterbury.

OXFORD

Constituted June 4, 1846, from New Haven.

WALLINGFORD (Wallingford and the Second Voting District of North Branford).

Constituted May session, 1776, from New Haven and Guilford.

WATERBURY (Waterbury, Middlebury, Wolcott).

Constituted May session, 1779, from Woodbury.

NEW LONDON COUNTY

NEW LONDON (New London, Waterford).

Constituted May session 1666, as a County Court.

NORWICH (Norwich, Franklin, Griswold, Lisbon, Preston, Sprague, Voluntown).

Constituted-October, 1748, from New London; contains the records of Voluntown.

BOZRAH

Constituted June 3, 1843, from Norwich.

COLCHESTER

Constituted May 29, 1832, from East Haddam; contains the records of East Haddam from October session, 1741, to May 29, 1832.

EAST LYME

Constituted June 2, 1843, from New London.

GROTON

Constituted May 25, 1839, from Stonington.

LEBANON

Constituted June 2, 1826, from Windham.

LEDYARD

Constituted June 6, 1837, from Stonington.

LYME

Constituted July 5, 1869, from Old Lyme.

MONTVILLE

Constituted June 27, 1851, from New London.

NORTH STONINGTON

Constituted June 4, 1835, from Stonington.

OLD LYME

Name changed from Lyme to Old Lyme July 5, 1869; contains the records of Lyme from June 4, 1830, to July 24, 1868.

SALEM

Constituted July 9, 1841, from Colchester and New London.

STONINGTON

Constituted October session 1766, from New London.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY

BRIDGEPORT (Bridgeport, Easton, Monroe, Trumbull).

Constituted June 4, 1840, from Stratford; contains the records of Stratford, from May session, 1782, to June 4, 1840; and the records of Easton, which include the records of Weston.

DANBURY (Danbury, New Fairfield).

Constituted May session, 1744, from Fairfield.

BETHEL

Constituted July 4, 1859, from Danbury.

BROOKFIELD

Constituted June 19, 1850, from Newtown.

DARIEN

Constituted May 18, 1921, from Stamford.

FAIRFIELD

Constituted May session, 1666, as a County Court.

GREENWICH

Constituted July 4, 1853, from Stamford.

NEWTOWN

Constituted May session, 1820, from Danbury.

NORWALK (Norwalk, New Canaan, Wilton).

Constituted May session, 1802, from Fairfield and Stamford.

REDDING

Constituted May 24, 1839, from Danbury.

RIDGEFIELD

Constituted June 10, 1841, from Danbury.

SHELTON

Constituted May, 1889, from Bridgeport and Derby. Name changed from Huntington to Shelton, August 29, 1919.

SHERMAN

Constituted June 4, 1846, from New Milford.

STAMFORD

Constituted May session, 1728, from Fairfield.

STRATFORD

Constituted May session, 1782, from Fairfield. The records of Stratford previous to June 4, 1840, are in Bridgeport.

WESTPORT (Westport, Weston).

Constituted May session, 1835, at the time of the incorporation of the Town of Westport. The territory was taken from Fairfield, Norwalk and Weston.

WINDHAM COUNTY

WINDHAM (Windham, Scotland).

Constituted October session, 1719, from Hartford and New London.

ASHFORD

Constituted June 4, 1830, from Pomfret.

BROOKLYN

Constituted June 4, 1833, from Pomfret and Plainfield.

CANTERBURY

Constituted May 27, 1835, from Plainfield.

CHAPLIN

Constituted June 7, 1850, from Windham.

EASTFORD

Constituted June 21, 1849, from Ashford.

HAMPTON

Constituted June 2, 1836, from Windham.

KILLINGLY

Constituted June 4, 1830, from Pomfret and Plainfield.

PLAINFIELD

Constituted May session, 1747, from Windham.

POMFRET

Constituted May session, 1752, from Windham and Plainfield. The records of Pomfret were burned January 5, 1754.

PUTNAM

Constituted July 5, 1856, from Thompson.

STERLING

Constituted June 17, 1852, from Plainfield.

THOMPSON

Constituted May 25, 1832, from Pomfret.

WOODSTOCK

Constituted May 30, 1831, from Pomfret.

LITCHFIELD COUNTY.

LITCHFIELD (Litchfield, Morris, Warren).

Constituted October session, 1742, from Hartford, Woodbury and New Haven.

BARKHAMSTEAD

Constituted June 5, 1834, from New Hartford; contains the records of New Hartford, from May 27, 1825, to June 5, 1834.

CANAAN (Canaan, North Canaan).

Constituted June 6, 1846, from Sharon.

CORNWALL

Constituted June 15, 1847, from Litchfield.

HARWINTON

Constituted May 27, 1835, from Litchfield.

KENT

Constituted May 26, 1831, from New Milford.

NEW HARTFORD

Constituted May 27, 1825, from Simsbury. The records of New Hartford previous to June 5, 1834, are in Barkhamsted.

NEW MILFORD (New Milford, Bridgewater).

Constituted May session, 1787, from Woodbury, Sharon and Danbury.

NORFOLK

Constituted May session, 1779, from Simsbury and Litchfield.

PLYMOUTH

Constituted May 31, 1833, from Waterbury.

ROXBURY

Constituted June 6, 1842, from Woodbury.

SALISBURY

Constituted June 16, 1847, from Sharon.

SHARON

Constituted October session, 1755, from Litchfield.

THOMASTON

Constituted June 1882, from Waterbury.

TORRINGTON (Torrington, Goshen).

Constituted June 16, 1847, from Litchfield.

WASHINGTON

Constituted May 22, 1832, from Litchfield and Woodbury.

WATERTOWN

Constituted June 3, 1834, from Waterbury.

WINCHESTER (Winchester, Colebrook).

Constituted May 31, 1838, from Norfolk.

WOODBURY (Woodbury, Bethlehem, Southbury).

Constituted October session, 1719, from Hartford, Fairfield and New Haven.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

MIDDLETOWN (Middletown, Cromwell, Durham, Middlefield).

Constituted May session, 1752, from Hartford, Guilford, and East Haddam.

CLINTON

Constituted July 5, 1862, from Killingworth.

EAST HADDAM

Constituted October session, 1741, from Hartford. The records of East Haddam previous to May 29, 1832, are in Colchester.

EAST HAMPTON¹

Constituted as Chatham District June 1, 1824, from Middletown and East Haddam. The records of Chatham previous to January 6, 1915, are in Portland. Name changed to East Hampton 1921.

ESSEX

Constituted July 4, 1859, from Old Saybrook. Contains the records of Old Saybrook, from July 4, 1853, to July 4, 1859.

HADDAM

Constituted June 3, 1830, from Middletown and Chatham.

KILLINGWORTH

Constituted June 3, 1834, from Saybrook.

OLD SAYBROOK

Constituted July 4, 1853, from Saybrook. The records of Old Saybrook previous to July 4, 1859, are in Essex.

PORTLAND

Constituted April 22, 1913, from Chatham. Contains the records of the District of Chatham previous to January 6, 1915.

SAYBROOK (Saybrook, Chester).

Constituted May session, 1780, from Guilford.

WESTBROOK

Constituted July 4, 1854, from Old Saybrook.

TOLLAND COUNTY.

TOLLAND (Tolland, Willington).

Constituted June 4, 1830, from Stafford.

ANDOVER (Andover, Bolton, Columbia).

Constituted June 27, 1851, from Hebron; contains the records of Hebron from May session, 1789, to June 27, 1851.

COVENTRY

Constituted June 19, 1849, from Hebron.

ELLINGTON (Ellington, Vernon).

Constituted May 31, 1826, from East Windsor and Stafford.

HEBRON

Constituted May session, 1789, from Windham, East Had-dam and East Windsor. The records of Hebron previous to June 27, 1851, are in Andover.

MANSFIELD

Constituted May 30, 1831, from Windham.

SOMERS

Constituted June 3, 1834, from Ellington.

STAFFORD (Stafford, Union).

Constituted May session, 1759, from Hartford and Pomfret.

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